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ABSTRACT

Several public policy issues, particularly the ebb and flow of nonpublic school enrollment at elementary and secondary levels and the causes and implications of those fluctuations, were studied. The research consisted of a state-wide analysis and 12 case studies of nonpublic education in Louisiana. The eight chapters are organized into two major sections. Part 1, which included Chapters 1 through 4, presents the state-wide analysis, and Part II, Chapters 5 through 8, contains the Illustrative Materials, which are four of the case studies that cover topics of general interest. Results of the study show that while a "crisis of confidence" appears to characterize patrons and sponsors of Catholic schools nationally, no comparable phenomenon was encountered in Louisiana. It is suggested that the impressive holding power of nonpublic schools in this State may be partly attributal to specific nonracial problems facing public schools in some areas, to unique contributions of Catholic schools catering primarily to black patrons, to a relatively moderate rate of migration by Catholics from the cities to the suburbs, to a recent disproportionate population increase in the Southeast, and to a slight tendency to draw patrons from a higher income strata than the national norm for Catholic schools, (For related document, see ED 058 473.) (DB)

ED 058 492

The Three R's of Louisiana Nonpublic Education: Race, Religion, and Region

Submitted to The President's Commission on School Finance

AA 000 796

THIS IS ONE OF SEVERAL REPORTS PREPARED FOR THIS COMMISSION. TO AID IN OUR DELIBERATIONS, WE HAVE SOUGHT THE BEST QUALIFIED PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS TO CONDUCT THE MANY STUDY PROJECTS RELATING TO OUR BROAD MANDATE. COMMISSION STAFF MEMBERS HAVE ALSO PREPARED CERTAIN REPORTS.

WE ARE PUBLISHING THEM ALL SO THAT OTHERS MAY HAVE ACCESS TO THE SAME COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF THESE SUBJECTS THAT THE COMMISSION SOUGHT TO OBTAIN. IN OUR OWN FINAL REPORT WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ADDRESS IN DETAIL EVERY ASPECT OF EACH AREA STUDIED. BUT THOSE WHO SEEK ADDITIONAL INSIGHTS INTO THE COMPLEX PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION IN GENERAL AND SCHOOL FINANCE IN PARTICULAR WILL FIND MUCH CONTAINED IN THESE PROJECT REPORTS.

WE HAVE FOUND MUCH OF VALUE IN THEM FOR OUR OWN DELIBERATIONS. THE FACT THAT WE ARE NOW PUBLISHING THEM, HOWEVER, SHOULD IN NO SENSE BE VIEWED AS ENDORSEMENT OF ANY OR ALL OF THEIR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS. THE COMMISSION HAS REVIEWED THIS REPORT AND THE OTHERS BUT HAS DRAWN ITS OWN CONCLUSIONS AND WILL OFFER ITS OWN RECOMMENDATIONS. THE FINAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSION MAY WELL BE AT VARIANCE WITH OR IN OPPOSITION TO VIEWS AND RECOMMENDATIONS CONTAINED IN THIS AND OTHER PROJECT REPORTS.

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THE THREE R'S OF NONPUBLIC EDUCATION IN LOUISIANA:
RACE, RELIGION, AND REGION

A Report to
The President's Commission on School Finance

by

Donald A. Erickson and John D. Donovan

with the assistance of
George F. Madaus, George F. Lundy, and Associates

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PREFACE

It will be obvious from the discussions that follow that we were fascinated by the complexity of the phenomena we encountered in Louisiana. We were charmed, moreover, by the grace of the state itself, its landscape, its cities, and its people. We hope to return.

Beyond this nostalgic observation, we wish only to make a caveat and tender some thanks.

The caveat concerns the breakneck pace at which the study was conducted. The contract was awarded on September 29, 1971. An oral report was scheduled less than two months later (November 15, 1971) and a final written report (this report), less than four months later (January 1, 1972). As an inevitable result of the time constraints, scholars will be able to find many points at which follow-up work was warranted. We will ourselves point out numerous areas where further investigation was needed, particularly with respect to issues that did not occur to us in advance. The deadlines closed off such possibilities.

We were greatly assisted by many people, including especially the close friends and family members who must have found us virtually nonexistent for weeks at a time. With remarkably few exceptions, we found Louisiana citizens most courteous, most quick to come to our aid. We are especially grateful to two colleagues, George F. Madaus and George F. Lundy, who repeatedly came to our aid; to the people who conducted the local case studies so capably in the face of unreasonable schedules; to Professor Dan Lortie, who so effectively assisted in the two-day training program for field workers; to the more than 287 persons who consented to be interviewed, some of them repeatedly; to the public school superintendents and nonpublic schoolmen who responded to mailed requests for information; and to the many teachers who were patient while we and our co-workers visited their schools and made observations in their classrooms.

Many analyses would have been impossible without the extensive data made available by Father George Elford from the Data Bank of the National Catholic Education Association and by Mrs. Pat Bowers of the Public Affairs Research Council in Baton Rouge. We are deeply indebted to them. The four diocesan superintendents in the state were prompt and patient in responding to our many urgent requests for data. Among the people who made very extensive efforts to assist were John Rice, Father Charles O'Neill, Sister Eugenia Simoneaux, Millard F. Everett (in our view, a courageous man, for reasons discussed in chapter 3), Gideon Stanton, Mrs. Ernest Lutz, Emile Comar, and Bishop Joseph G. Vath of Birmingham. Additional people who made important contributions but are not mentioned elsewhere are Thomas Mather, Sue Shero, Karen Shaw, Father Patrick Hunter, Rose De Maio, and Charles B. Thompson.

The chapters that follow are organized into two major sections. Part I, including chapters 1 through 4, is our state-wide analysis of the important issues and events. Chapter 4 could be regarded as an abstract, considerably longer and more comprehensive than the abstract that precedes chapter 1. Part II, including chapters 5 through 8, contains illustrative materials, four case studies reproduced because they cover topics of general interest. These four chapters, largely unedited, should be regarded as entirely the work of the specified authors and their assistants.

Donald A. Erickson
John D. Donovan

Chicago and Boston
January, 1972

ABSTRACT: Donald A. Erickson and John D. Donovan (with the assistance of George F. Madaus, George F. Lundy, and associates), The Three R's of Nonpublic Education in Louisiana: Race, Religion, and Region, A Report to the President's Commission on School Finance, January, 1972.

This study, designed to supplement work conducted earlier for the President's Commission on School Finance by Erickson and Madaus (with the collaboration of Donovan and others), concentrated on several public policy issues, with particular attention to the ebb and flow of nonpublic school enrollment at elementary and secondary levels and to the apparent causes and implications of those fluctuations.

The research was organized in terms of two components, a state-wide analysis executed by Chicago and Boston personnel and twelve "local case studies" conducted, with one exception, by Louisiana individuals and groups. The major sources of data, other than published works, were the offices of the four Catholic diocesan school superintendents in the state, the Southern District office of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, the National Catholic Education Association's Data Bank, the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana (in Baton Rouge), the Louisiana State Department of Education, important document collections made available by six individuals, a mailed survey of nonCatholic nonpublic schools and the 66 public school superintendents in the state, and interviews with more than 287 key informants.

While a "crisis of confidence" appears to characterize patrons and sponsors of Catholic schools nationally, no comparable phenomenon was encountered in Louisiana. For example: the superintendent of schools of one of the four dioceses in the state predicted that Catholic school enrollment in his area would grow by at least 50 per cent during the next ten years or so. Whereas profound pessimism had apparently resulted from the withdrawal of expected state aid to nonpublic schools in Michigan, a court decision outlawing similar assistance produced little discernible impact on enrollment or morale in Louisiana's nonpublic schools.

Between 1960-61 and 1970-71, Catholic elementary school enrollment declined by 23.1 per cent in the nation as a whole, but only by 12.8 per cent in Louisiana. During the same period, the total number of Catholic high school students grew by 17.5 per cent nationally, but by 26.8 per cent in Louisiana. (In both cases the ten-year trend figure obscures a very recent enrollment attrition.) Between 1965-66 and 1970-71, the drop-off at the elementary level was 25.2 per cent nationally, but only 12.7 per cent in Louisiana.

As for the other (nonCatholic) nonpublic schools, as a total group in the United States they seem best characterized as "holding their own," but though precise figures are not available in Louisiana, it is evident that the total number of students in these schools has been burgeoning of late--so much so that some public school superintendents in the state think public education is in jeopardy.

In the school year 1969-70, both Catholic and other nonpublic schools in Louisiana displayed a suddenly augmented attractiveness. Whereas Catholic elementary schools throughout the state had shown a net loss of students for several years previously, in 1969-70 the rate of decline was notably curtailed in the Archdiocese of New Orleans, and in the three other dioceses in Louisiana, significant expansion occurred. As for the other (nonCatholic) nonpublic schools whose enrollments are state-reported, their enrollments increased by 90.3 per cent (over the previous year) in 1969-70. The salience of 1969-70 (and to a somewhat comparable degree, 1970-71) to the patron-getting ability of the state's nonpublic schools is further documented in the final report.

In the school year 1962-63, the Catholic elementary schools of the Archdiocese of New Orleans experienced a net loss of approximately 3,000 pupils (4.7 per cent of the previous year's total), though for several years previously and subsequently, an upward trend was evident.

Explanations for these enrollment characteristics were sought in the perceived quality of public education, the quality of nonpublic schools, the availability of public assistance, the magnitude of recent cost increases, shifts in tuition levels, the loss of teaching nuns from Catholic schools, the extent of the recent city-to-suburbs migration, population growth, regionally differentiated religious viewpoints, patron ability to pay, and race-related events.

There is at least suggestive evidence that the impressive holding power of nonpublic schools in Louisiana may be partly attributable to special nonracial problems facing public schools in some areas, to unique contributions of Catholic schools catering exclusively or primarily to black patrons, to a relatively moderate rate of migration by Catholics from the cities to the suburbs, to a recent disproportionate population increase in the Southeast, to a widely purported tendency for Catholics in the Southeast to take longer than Catholics elsewhere to "catch up" with the theological revolution symbolized by the Second Vatican Council, and to a slight tendency for Catholic schools in the Southeast to draw their patrons from income strata above the national norm for Catholic schools. Several related issues were considered in these respects.

It seems evident, however, that race-related events are the most powerful explanatory variables so far as recent enrollment characteristics of Louisiana's nonpublic schools are concerned. Possibly the crisis facing nonpublic schools nationally has merely been delayed in Louisiana because of race-related pressures of a temporary nature.

The major state-wide growth documented in nonpublic schools in 1969-70 and 1970-71 occurred during the months when the largest strides toward racial integration were taken in the state's public schools. The pronounced loss of students in the Catholic schools of the Archdiocese of New Orleans in 1962-63 came hard on the heels of the first widespread desegregation in these schools. There is a notable tendency for Louisiana respondents of many different viewpoints to attribute the attractiveness of nonpublic schools to racial factors.

This is not to say that the nonpublic schools or their patrons are racist. Numerous serious difficulties have attended racial desegregation in the state's public schools, including the well documented violence surrounding public school integration in New Orleans in 1962-63 and current problems concerning a court-mandated busing program in New Orleans suburbs. In some cases, desegregation is badly managed. Anarchy breaks out, children are threatened, instruction is disrupted, and there are few discernible prospects for improvement. In other instances, a social class phenomenon seems primary; middle-class whites react against the advent of black children from deprived backgrounds who may have difficulty coping with conventional classrooms. In other cases, whites seem to be deserting the public schools because the courts allegedly have usurped the governance rights of parents.

When the welfare of the child seems seriously threatened in a racially integrated school, the parent faces a moral dilemma. If he transfers his child to a largely segregated nonpublic school, he may hamper society's struggle toward racial justice. But there must be some point at which conditions are sufficiently damaging to the child to constitute moral justification, or even a moral demand, for the transfer.

The charge was frequently encountered, in this regard, that leaders of nonpublic schools and their sponsoring groups in Louisiana, when not obviously racist, had at least lacked courage to set a moral example by integrating before public school leaders were forced to do so. If leaders of the vast majority of non-Catholic nonpublic schools in the state are opposed to racism, they have given little discernible evidence of the fact. With a handful of exceptions, they cater exclusively to whites. The record of the Catholic schools is vastly encouraging when compared with the record of this group. When compared with Catholic schools nationally or even in the Southeast as a whole, however, the progress of Louisiana's Catholic schools toward racial integration has been discouragingly slow. Beginning around 1949, Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel of New Orleans established himself as the only major religious or secular leader in the state, so far as we can determine, who was taking a strong position against racial prejudice. After 1957, his leadership began to falter in this regard, evidently because of illness and advanced age, at least in part. In more recent years, some significant moral thrust in racial particulars has been evidenced in the Archdiocese of New Orleans. Lesser efforts seem evident in the Diocese of Baton Rouge, the Diocese of Lafayette, and the Diocese of Alexandria, in that order.

In the final report, attention is given to the fallacies of the "great man theory," which attributes to officially designated leaders much power to alter the course of events. Furthermore, relationships between church officials and the people without whom Catholic schools cannot survive are much more voluntaristic than is generally recognized. Within a given parish, parents may send their children or withdraw them. Parishioners may give or withhold the necessary donations. Abetted by drastic decentralization, patrons, principals, and teachers often find it easy to sabotage the policies a bishop or diocesan school superintendent thinks he has established. Leaders in nonpublic schools in Louisiana and elsewhere who strive for racial justice must do so while maintaining a necessary basis of support in a racist society. If

they move too quickly, they may destroy their own influence. If they move too slowly, they may alienate the black citizens they hope to help, along with whites who demand progress in this regard. It is often difficult, our inquiries make clear, to determine whether the pace such leaders adopt is too fast or too slow in the light of complex local circunstances.

Catholic leaders face other dilemmas relevant to racial integration, not all of which will be mentioned here. There is an undeniable commitment of teaching nuns in Louisiana to black families. But by allocating their services (exceptionally low in cost) to all-black schools, these personnel from religious orders are, in effect, helping ensure that expenditures will be considerably lower in these schools than in schools with larger proportions of whites, thus making it more difficult for black families (most of whom have very modest incomes) to shift to well integrated Catholic schools. Some respondents argue with considerable cogency that rational racial policies for Catholic schools will be possible only when the current pronounced decentralization is abandoned--when human and material resources for the schools are marshalled and allocated on a much broader geographic basis than the parish (perhaps the diocese), in terms of equitable equalization formulas. But fiscal redistribution arrangements are almost certain to be blocked by the well-to-do whites who hold the major purse strings in the Catholic church, and the religious orders seem unlikely to relinquish the right to determine where their own members will serve.

A second allegation discussed at length in the report charges that Louisiana nonpublic schools served as havens for white segregationists at a time when nearby public schools were attempting to desegregate. Little can be said in defense of the large group of nonCatholic schools that virtually doubled in size when the public schools were significantly desegregated in the fall of 1969. Catholic officials in the dioceses of Alexandria, Lafayette, and Baton Rouge put themselves in a compromising position during the same school year by permitting a sizeable influx of new white students, including many nonCatholics, though as we noted earlier, it is dubious to assume that all or most of the transferees were motivated by racial prejudice.

Extended attention is given in the study to Catholic schools serving black students primarily or exclusively. The U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has been demanding an end to schools of this type, apparently on the questionable assumption that racially segregated schooling is harmful under all conditions, including the self-segregation of black people who wish to govern their own affairs and promote a strong sense of identity.

National evidence is cited to indicate that many Catholics approve the preservation of inner-city Catholic schools that serve blacks exclusively or predominantly, largely because public schools in the area seem seriously substandard. Similar perceptions were encountered in Louisiana. In Louisiana, unlike the nation as a whole, many Catholic schools for blacks have been operating for many years. They performed particular vital functions, it appears, during the decades when much public schooling for blacks was far from adequate. As a consequence, many black citizens still display strong loyalties toward these schools. Even in areas of the state outside the central cities, some all-black Catholic schools may be providing unique services, as one case study in the final report strongly suggests.

Numerous black Catholics in Louisiana argue that racial integration in the schools should be delayed until it can be effectuated under conditions more favorable to the interests of black people. In keeping with this argument, evidence was encountered that when steps toward racial integration were taken in the nonpublic schools of the state, blacks were generally consulted less than whites. When black and white schools were "consolidated" and one of the buildings abandoned, the premises of the black school were generally selected for the honor. Usually the black students, rather than the white students, were asked to attend where they would be in the minority, vulnerable to prejudice. While white parents often found themselves paying less tuition than before the desegregation, black parents usually found themselves paying more. In defense of nonpublic school leaders, we must point out that since whites flee the presence of blacks more often than blacks flee the presence of whites, it may frequently appear more crucial to placate whites than to protect the interests of blacks when desegregation is planned. Nevertheless, many blacks in Louisiana say they are no longer interested in racial integration on the white man's terms. It is preferable under the circumstances, they insist, to maintain all-black institutions. Some years may pass before many white patrons of nonpublic schools are ready to integrate on the black man's terms.

Many other issues and dilemmas are discussed in the final report, one of which should perhaps be mentioned at this juncture: The evidence indicates that great strides toward racial integration have been made in the public schools of Louisiana during the past two school years (1969-70 and 1970-71). The progress had been made at a price. In the opinion of many well informed observers in Louisiana, the recent growth of segregated academies in the state (which enroll a total of approximately 40,000 youngsters) is largely attributable to confusion and turmoil surrounding the desegregation of the public schools. One could argue, on the one hand, that a period of consolidation is needed--a "breathing space" in which public schoolmen may calm their constituents and reestablish stability. But on the other hand, the courts may need to capitalize at all costs on the breakthrough they have finally achieved more than 15 years after the Brown decision of 1954!

As a counterbalance to the unavoidable emphasis on Catholic schools (which in Louisiana enroll something like 75 per cent of all students in the nonpublic sector) two nonsectarian nonpublic schools are discussed at length in "local case studies" reproduced in full in the final report. One of these, a renowned college-preparatory institution, appears to have led the way to numerous educational reforms in Louisiana over past decades. The other, apparently the only "free school" in the state, seems to be having a remarkable impact on public schools in the area, especially in the light of its short existence. Some Catholic schools, also, are experimenting with programs that should be of general interest. The opportunity for contributions such as these should weigh heavily in considerations of public policy.

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PART I

STATEWIDE ANALYSIS

1. INTRODUCTION

The following study is focused on the relationship between nonpublic education in Louisiana and the public policy issues central to the concerns of the President's Commission on School Finance. In this respect it reflects the dynamics of racial, regional and religious dimensions of these relationships. Louisiana is not, of course, equated with other states in the South. Still, the historic and contemporary prominence of nonpublic, especially Catholic schools, in the state and the features Louisiana holds in common with other Southern States recommend Louisiana as an especially worthwhile and timely laboratory for study. In addition, the current study supplements earlier inquiries on the relationship between nonpublic schools and public policy in the states of Michigan, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.[1]

In Louisiana, as in these other states, the central research questions were formulated as follows:

(a) During the last five years or so, what has been the ebb and flow of public and nonpublic school enrollment in Louisiana, especially in the context of major trends identified in our earlier work (e.g., cost increases, decisions regarding public support, decreasing supply of religious teachers, demographic changes)?

(b) To what extent have these trends in the localities under study been spontaneously generated by client decisions, and to what extent initiated or influenced by educational, ecclesiastical, or political leaders? Who have been the major actors at the critical decision points? What processes may be documented? Do the relationships differ among major types of nonpublic schools?

(c) What interaction has occurred between public and nonpublic schools during the period under study? In what ways has the interaction been affected by the above-mentioned trends? What have been the apparent results, for public and nonpublic schools and for the larger community, of these interactions? (Special attention will be given to cooperative arrangements for relieving fiscal pressures on nonpublic schools, such as leasing arrangements and shared time, services, and facilities.)

(d) What state and federal assistance has been extended to or withdrawn from nonpublic schools, by means of what processes, and with what apparent consequences?

(e) What auguries seem most logical concerning the future of various groups of nonpublic schools in Louisiana? How do these compare with predictions in other states by Erickson and Madaus? How may the differences (if any) most plausibly be explained? What are the probable consequences of these predictions with respect to public and nonpublic education and the general weal?

Nonpublic Schools in Louisiana

The first of the many data bases which describe the nonpublic school situation in Louisiana concern only the Catholic elementary and secondary schools. These data do not provide the total picture because there are important segments of the nonpublic school structure which are both non-Catholic and non-denominational. This initial focus on Catholic schools is recommended by the fact that, as of 1969-70, 82% of the nonpublic school students are enrolled in Catholic schools. Moreover, in comparative terms, the Louisiana Catholic school situation is different.

The differences that mark this Catholic school situation in Louisiana become most meaningful when viewed within a national and regional framework. Tables 1/1 through Table 1/5 describe the numerical and percentile incidence in the closure of Catholic schools by region, by level of education, and by type of organization.[2]

Table 1/1

Number of Catholic Parochial Elementary Schools in the United States, 1967 to 1970

	1967	1968	1969	1970
New England	810	786 (-3.0)	746 (-5.1)	694 (-7.0)
Mideast	2705	2680 (- .9)	2595 (-3.2)	2523 (-2.8)
Great Lakes	2643	2586 (-2.1)	2454 (-5.1)	2357 (-3.9)
Plains	1276	1156 (-9.4)	1019 (-11.8)	958 (-6.0)
Southeast	949	931 (-1.9)	898 (-3.5)	858 (-4.4)
West & Far West	1434	1385 (-3.4)	1335 (-3.6)	1286 (-3.7)
United States	9817	9524 (-3.0)	9047 (-5.0)	8676 (-4.1)

Source: Research Department, National Catholic Educational Association, A Report on U.S. Catholic Schools, 1970-71 (Washington, D.C.: the Association, 1971), hereinafter identified as NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 1-5, p.6.

Table 1/2

Number of Catholic Inter-Parochial or Diocesan Elementary Schools in the United States, 1967 to 1970

	1967	1968	1969	1970
New England	11	12 (9.2)	14 (16.8)	28 (100.0)
Mideast	35	45 (28.7)	68 (51.1)	103 (51.6)
Great Lakes	47	52 (10.6)	71 (36.5)	77 (8.5)
Plains	25	74 (196.0)	93 (25.8)	84 (-9.7)
Southeast	22	22 (.0)	26 (18.3)	30 (15.5)
West & Far West	29	37 (27.7)	40 (8.1)	36 (-10.0)
United States	169	242 (43.3)	312 (28.9)	358 (14.7)

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 1-6, p.7.

Table 1/3

Number of Catholic Parochial Secondary Schools in the United States, 1967 to 1970

	1967	1968		1969		1970	
New England	73	66	(-9.6)	55	(-16.7)	44	(-20.0)
Mideast	188	181	(-3.7)	160	(-11.6)	152	(-5.0)
Great Lakes	140	121	(-13.6)	104	(-14.0)	95	(-8.6)
Plains	101	84	(-16.8)	72	(-14.3)	66	(-8.3)
Southeast	62	50	(-19.3)	43	(-14.0)	42	(-2.3)
West & Far West	85	77	(-9.4)	71	(-7.8)	61	(-14.1)
United States	649	579	(-10.8)	505	(-12.5)	460	(-8.9)

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 1-7, p.7.

Table 1/4

Number of Catholic Inter-Parochial or Diocesan Secondary Schools in the United States, 1967 to 1970

	1967	1968		1969		1970	
New England	74	75	(1.4)	74	(-1.3)	73	(-1.3)
Mideast	183	187	(2.3)	191	(2.1)	188	(-1.6)
Great Lakes	166	172	(3.6)	169	(-1.7)	176	(4.1)
Plains	109	107	(-1.8)	104	(-2.8)	95	(-8.6)
Southeast	111	114	(2.7)	113	(- .9)	109	(-3.5)
West & Far West	110	112	(1.8)	108	(-3.6)	109	(.9)
United States	753	767	(1.9)	759	(-1.0)	750	(-1.2)

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 1-8, p.7.

Table 1/5

Number of Catholic Private Secondary Schools in the United States, 1967 to 1970

	1967	1968		1969		1970	
New England	84	84	(.0)	78	(-7.1)	79	(1.4)
Mideast	254	250	(-1.6)	244	(-2.4)	242	(- .8)
Great Lakes	202	196	(-3.0)	187	(-4.6)	164	(-12.3)
Plains	67	61	(-8.9)	60	(-1.6)	62	(3.3)
Southeast	89	84	(-5.6)	80	(-4.8)	79	(- 1.3)
West & Far West	174	166	(-4.6)	158	(-4.8)	145	(- 8.2)
United States	870	841	(-3.3)	807	(-4.0)	771	(- 4.5)

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 1-9, p. 8.

These data indicate that the decline in the number of schools in the Southeast has tended to be less marked than that in the other five regions of the country in some categories, e.g. parochial elementary schools (Table 1/1), parochial secondary schools (Table 1/3). But the differences are not dramatic since in terms of total Catholic schools the rate of decline was 10.15% for the U. S. and 9.41% for the Southeast region. It is only when these national and regional data are compared with the Catholic school situation in Louisiana that the atypicality of the Louisiana case stands out. Tables 1/6 through Table 1/8 reveal that not only have Louisiana's Catholic schools been less frequently closed than have those in the nation and in the Southeast but that in one area (the Diocese of Baton Rouge) some new schools have recently been opened. Compared to the 10.15% and 9.41% national and regional rate of decline the decline in the number of all Catholic schools in Louisiana between 1967-1971 was only 2.43%. Thus, compared to national and regional patterns, Catholic elementary and secondary education in Louisiana has been different. It has experienced school closures between four and five times less frequent than closures in the region and the nation.

Table 1/6

Catholic Elementary Schools in Louisiana, 1967-68 to 1970-71

	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71
Archdiocese of New Orleans	108	108 (n.c)	106 (-1.8%)	106 (n.c.)
Diocese of Alexandria	32	32 (n.c.)	32 (n.c.)	30 (-6.3%)
Diocese of Baton Rouge	29	29 (n.c.)	28 (-3.4%)	29 (+3.7%)
Diocese of Lafayette	48	48 (n.c.)	47 (-2.1%)	47 (n.c.)
Louisiana Totals	217	217 (n.c.)	213 (-1.9%)	210 (-1.4%)

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Appendix A, Table 1-1.

Table 1/7

Catholic Secondary Schools in Louisiana, 1967-68 to 1970-71

	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71
Archdiocese of New Orleans	36	36 (n.c.)	35 (-2.8%)	34 (-2.8%)
Diocese of Alexandria	8	8 (n.c.)	8 (n.c.)	8 (n.c.)
Diocese of Baton Rouge	7	7 (n.c.)	7 (n.c.)	9 (+28.7%)
Diocese of Lafayette	21	20 (-4.8%)	20 (n.c.)	19 (-5.0%)
Louisiana Totals	72	71 (-1.4%)	70 (-1.4%)	70 (n.c.)

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Appendix A, Table 1-2.

Table 1/8

Total Catholic Schools in Louisiana, 1967-68 to 1970-71

	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71
Archdiocese of New Orleans	144	144 (n.c.)	141 (-2.1%)	140 (-.7%)
Diocese of Alexandria	40	40 (n.c.)	40 (n.c.)	38 (-5.0)
Diocese of Baton Rouge	36	36	35 (-2.8%)	38 (+8.7%)
Diocese of Lafayette	69	68 (-1.4%)	67 (-1.5%)	66 (-1.5%)
Louisiana Totals	289	288 (-.4%)	283 (-1.7%)	282 (-.4%)

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Appendix A, Table 1-3.

Nonpublic School Enrollments in Louisiana

Schools and students, however, are not at every point equatable. It is important, therefore, to note that the lower rate of attrition in Catholic school closures in the Southeast is paralleled by a notably lower rate of attrition in student enrollments. Tables 1/9, 1/10, and 1/11 provide the evidence for this in national and regional terms.

Thus, compared to a national student attrition rate of 6.9% in 1970, Catholic elementary schools in the Southeast experienced an enrollment loss of only 3.4%, the lowest of any region in the country.

The same picture pertains at the secondary school level and for the combined elementary and secondary school enrollment totals. In the Southeast secondary school enrollment declined less than 1% in 1970 compared to a 4.1% attrition rate nationally. And the total elementary and secondary school enrollment decline was less than half that of the nation, 2.9% compared to 6.2%. Regionally it is clear that Catholic schools in the Southeast have not experienced the crisis to the same degree as other sections of the country.

Table 1/9

Catholic Elementary School Enrollment
in the United States, 1967 to 1970

	1967	1968	1969	1970
N.E.	335,111	315,384 (-5.9)	286,328 (-9.2)	254,544 (-11.1)
Mideast	1,391,537	1,325,588 (-4.7)	1,259,532 (-5.0)	1,188,409 (-5.6)
G. Lakes	1,150,708	1,075,062 (-6.6)	988,500 (-8.1)	906,831 (-8.3)
Plains	371,523	344,114 (-7.4)	313,754 (-8.8)	290,815 (-7.3)
S. East	336,939	316,099 (-6.2)	307,066 (-2.9)	296,505 (-3.4)
West	519,987	483,462 (-7.0)	451,988 (-6.5)	422,207 (-6.6)
U.S.	4,105,805	3,859,709 (-6.0)	3,607,168 (-6.5)	3,359,311 (-6.9)

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 1-11, p. 9.

Table 1/10

Catholic Secondary School Enrollment
in the United States, 1967 to 1970

	1967	1968	1969	1970
N.E.	90,262	90,113 (- .2)	88,595 (-1.7)	80,812 (-8.8)
Mideast	363,026	364,489 (.4)	359,791 (-1.3)	350,602 (-2.6)
G. Lakes	302,511	295,937 (-2.2)	281,943 (-4.7)	266,005 (-5.7)
Plains	104,108	100,056 (-3.9)	94,876 (-5.2)	89,644 (-5.5)
S. East	93,292	92,782 (- .5)	90,933 (-2.0)	90,104 (- .9)
West	139,322	137,514 (-1.3)	135,221 (-1.7)	131,302 (-2.9)
U.S.	1,092,521	1,080,891 (-1.1)	1,051,359 (-2.7)	1,008,463 (-4.1)

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 1-12, p. 10.

Table 1/11

Total Catholic School Enrollment in
the United States, 1967 to 1970

	1967	1968	1969	1970
N.E.	425,373	405,497 (-4.7)	374,923 (-7.5)	335,356 (-10.6)
Mideast	1,754,563	1,690,077 (-3.7)	1,619,323 (-4.2)	1,539,005 (-5.0)
G. Lakes	1,453,219	1,370,999 (-5.7)	1,270,014 (-7.4)	1,172,406 (-7.7)
Plains	475,631	444,170 (-6.6)	408,630 (-8.0)	380,459 (-6.9)
S. East	430,231	408,881 (-5.0)	397,999 (-2.7)	386,609 (-2.9)
West	659,309	620,976 (-5.8)	587,209 (-5.4)	553,488 (-5.7)
U.S.	5,198,326	4,940,600 (-4.9)	4,658,098 (-5.7)	4,367,323 (-6.2)

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 1-13, p. 10.

Against this background of the national and regional enrollment situation in Catholic schools, the case of Louisiana provides some interesting differences. Tables 1/12, 1/13, and 1/14 describe these different patterns of enrollment for the period 1960-1972. Thus, it will be noted that in 1962-63, elementary school enrollment in the New Orleans Archdiocese dropped by 2924 students (4.7% in one year), as compared with the previous year. There was no similar enrollment decline in the other three dioceses of the state.

The peak year for elementary school enrollment was 1966-67 in the New Orleans Archdiocese, 1963-64 in the Diocese of Alexandria, 1961-62 in the Diocese of Baton Rouge, and 1963-64 in the Diocese of Lafayette. At the secondary level, the peak years were: 1968-69 in the Archdiocese of New Orleans, 1963-64 in the Diocese of Alexandria, 1966-67 in the Diocese of Baton Rouge, and 1969-70 in the Diocese of Lafayette, although the last-mentioned peak year, in the Diocese of Lafayette, is probably best regarded as a "special" result of racial development discussed later. The preceding peak year in the Lafayette diocese was 1963-64. After the peak years (with the Lafayette exception that has been pointed out), enrollments declined fairly steadily, (with the exception of secondary Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of New Orleans) until 1969-70, at which point the elementary enrollment decline in New Orleans slackened noticeably and the following growth was experienced elsewhere in a single year: 14.9 per cent in the elementary schools of the Alexandria diocese, 12.2 per cent in the elementary schools of the Baton Rouge diocese, 9.5 per cent in the elementary schools of the Lafayette diocese, 2.0 per cent in the high schools of the Alexandria diocese, 7.9 per cent in the high schools of the Baton Rouge diocese, and 9.1 per cent in the high schools of the Lafayette diocese.

Also in 1969-70, totals reported by the state department of education show that non-Catholic nonpublic schools in the state increased in enrollment by 90.3 per cent as compared with the previous year.

Between 1960-61 and 1970-71, Catholic schools declined in enrollment at the elementary level by 23.1 per cent nationally, but only by 12.8 per cent in Louisiana. During the same period, Catholic secondary schools increased by 17.5 per cent nationally, but by 26.8 per cent in Louisiana. The enrollment decline differential has been more dramatic in recent years than formerly. Between 1965-66 and 1970-71, Catholic elementary school enrollment declined by 25.2 per cent nationally, but only by 12.7 per cent in Louisiana.

Table 1/12

ENROLLMENT STATISTICS IN LOUISIANA

		1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65
	ELEMENTARY					
	a) Public					
	b) All.State-reported nonpublic	114,443	115,452	115,598	119,131	120,152
CATHOLIC	c) Archdiocese of New Orleans	61,313	61,638	58,714	59,064	60,727
	d) Diocese of Alexandria	9,824	---	9,776	9,945	9,654
	e) Diocese of Baton Rouge	13,371	13,801	13,799	13,324	13,501
	f) Diocese of Lafayette	18,812	18,910	18,906	19,150	18,869
	g) Statewide Catholic	103,320	---	101,195	101,483	102,751
	h) State-reported non-public non-Catholic (b) - (g)	11,123	---	14,403	17,648	17,401
	i) Lutheran, Louisiana			2,087	1,967	1,925
	National Catholic	4,373,422	4,431,869	4,485,221	4,546,360	4,533,771

Sources: To the maximum extent feasible, data for Louisiana Catholic Schools were acquired from the four diocesan superintendents of schools. Some gaps were filled by referring to the NCEA Report, 1970-71, the source utilized for national enrollment data for Catholic schools. Lutheran school data were obtained from the Southern District office of the Lutheran church--Missouri Synod--in New

Table 1/12 (cont.)

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1960-1972

1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72
	625,664	639,153	657,375	649,741		
121,353	123,553	105,897	97,720	109,730	---	---
62,978	63,713	57,916	54,199	53,379	52,706	51,775
9,272	9,019	7,599	6,857	7,881	8,049	7,328
12,473	12,486	11,885	10,850	12,175	12,864	10,945
18,423	17,769	16,995	15,508	16,984	16,428	14,793
103,146	102,987	94,395	87,414	90,419	90,047	84,841
18,207	20,565	11,502	10,360	19,311	---	---
1,865	1,862	1,747	1,476	1,477	1,610	1,785
4,492,107		4,105,805	3,859,704	3,607,168	3,359,311	

Orleans. Figures for total state-reported enrollment in all nonpublic schools (not complete, since schools not seeking state approval are not required to file data) were obtained from the State Department of Education. From these figures on total nonpublic enrollment, are deducted Catholic school enrollment figures to obtain totals in the state for non-Catholic nonpublic schools.

Table 1/13

ENROLLMENT STATISTICS IN LOUISIANA

		1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65
	SECONDARY					
	a) Public					
	b) All State-reported nonpublic	23,926	25,651	27,557	29,540	29,696
CATHOLIC	c) Archdiocese of New Orleans	13,645	14,732	15,692	16,470	17,060
	d) Diocese of Alexandria	2,129	---	2,406	2,421	2,329
	e) Diocese of Baton Rouge	2,173	2,008	2,351	3,043	2,916
	f) Diocese of Lafayette	3,719	4,030	4,322	4,651	4,584
	g) Statewide Catholic	21,666	---	24,771	26,585	26,889
	h) State-reported non-public non-Catholic (b) - (g)	2,260	---	2,786	2,955	2,807
	National Catholic	880,369	937,671	1,009,126	1,044,446	1,066,748

Table 1/13 (cont.)

SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1960-1972

1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72
	216,341	223,885	232,936	234,728		
30,013	30,797	30,981	30,671	33,403	---	---
17,650	17,887	19,733	19,465	19,276	18,108	17,897
2,156	2,143	2,017	1,955	1,992	2,143	2,219
2,969	3,059	2,736	2,713	2,928	2,522	2,536
4,495	4,386	4,419	4,348	4,743	4,708	4,679
27,270	27,475	28,905	28,481	28,939	27,481	27,331
2,743	3,322	2,076	2,190	4,464	---	---
1,081,703		1,067,318	1,060,248	1,034,657		

Table 1/14

ENROLLMENT STATISTICS IN LOUISIANA ELEMENTARY

		1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65
	TOTAL					
	a) Public					
	b) All State-reported nonpublic	138,369	141,103	143,155	148,671	149,848
C	c) Archdiocese of New Orleans	74,958	76,370	74,406	75,534	77,787
A T	d) Diocese of Alexandria	11,953	---	12,182	12,366	11,983
H	e) Diocese of Baton Rouge	15,544	15,809	16,150	16,367	16,417
O L	f) Diocese of Lafayette	22,531	22,940	23,228	23,801	23,453
I	g) Statewide Catholic	124,985	---	125,966	128,068	129,640
C	h) State-reported non-public non-Catholic (b) - (g)	13,384	---	17,189	20,603	20,208

Table 1/14 (cont.)

AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1960-1972

1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72
	842,005	863,038	890,311	884,469		
151,366	154,350	136,878	128,391	143,133	---	---
80,628	81,600	77,649	73,664	72,655	70,814	69,672
11,428	11,162	9,615	8,812	9,873	10,192	9,547
15,442	15,545	14,621	13,563	15,103	15,386	13,481
22,918	22,155	21,414	19,856	21,727	21,136	19,472
130,416	130,462	123,300	115,895	119,358	117,528	112,172
20,950	23,888	13,578	12,496	23,775	---	---

These data clearly establish the fact that the Louisiana story regarding Catholic schools is different but they tell only the statistical story. Equally, if not more, important is the attitudinal posture of Catholic school leaders regarding their future. Throughout the country most Catholic school superintendents and other officials have been exceedingly pessimistic about the years just ahead. They would have to fight for survival or they would continue to vanish. But in Louisiana with the possible exception of New Orleans, there seemed to be little disposition to believe that Catholic schools are in an eclipse. They were aware of problems but they were optimistic. Indeed in the Diocese of Baton Rouge the superintendent of Catholic schools predicted an enrollment increase of 50 per cent over the next decade!

It must, of course, be recalled that the Catholic schools are not the whole of nonpublic education in Louisiana. Schools conducted by other religious denominations and non-sectarian private schools are important parts of the picture. But it is a picture for which the kinds of hard statistical data presented above are hard to obtain, especially during recent years. The evidence is clear that the more established of these non-Catholic nonpublic schools in Louisiana have held their own but the number of new nonpublic schools, the so-called "segregationist academies", and their student enrollments can only be estimated. In part this lacuna exists because the Louisiana law requires such schools to submit reports only under certain conditions; in part, too, because many of them have been loathe to make public their enrollment situation. In Chapter 3 such data and estimates as are available will be presented concerning these schools and their students in Louisiana.

Research Strategies and Procedures

The foregoing striking contrasts in the nonpublic school situation in Louisiana posed two central questions. The research question was why. The public policy question was so what.

Relative to the first question it seemed clear that the remarkable holding power of Louisiana's nonpublic schools could only be explained by fundamental differences between such schools and their contextual relationships in Louisiana as compared to nonpublic schools and their contextual relationships in other parts of the nation. There could be little doubt that racial and race-related factors, especially during these years, were of major importance. But they were not the only factors, nor were they unique to Louisiana. The historical traditions of

Louisiana were clearly important as, indeed, were the changes taking place in the religious, economic, political, and other institutions of the region. Somehow all of these forces had to be studied and analyzed and within an extremely short period of time. Accordingly, even in advance of a final contract, the principal investigator spent almost three weeks in Louisiana identifying the major dimensions of the problem and locating qualified research personnel. The sensitivity of the racial issues involved recommended that as much field work as possible be carried out by local personnel for whom the problems of access to data would be minimized. Thus, in addition to the collection and analysis of all available published materials and to statewide staff interviews with public and nonpublic school educators, civil and religious leaders, etc., eleven case studies were commissioned and assigned to local case study directors. These case studies were intended to provide the analysis with the depth and detail needed to validate the uniqueness of the Louisiana situation and to ground some of its public policy implications. Four of these case studies are reproduced in Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8. The remainder have been incorporated into the general analysis, with their authorship duly noted. Largely unedited, they should be viewed as entirely the work of the identified authors and their assistants. More complete details of methodology are in Appendix A.

Questions concerning the public policy issues raised and their implications are properly scattered throughout the two chapters following. The issues are posed in context rather than separately because it is only in context that they may be fruitfully addressed. Moreover, the harried nature of the research enterprise, given the time limitations, limit the conclusiveness of this phase of the study. Some issues are identified as in need of further study, but the general consistency of the data across the spectrum of the research sources available are convincing evidence of the uniqueness of the Louisiana nonpublic school situation and of the reasons for the trends which it displays.

In outline form, therefore, Chapter 2 focuses on the relationships between nonpublic schools in Louisiana and public policy issues in terms of the more significant non-racial factors. Broadly these are identified as the "other" factors, region and religion. Chapter 3 focuses on the race-related factors important to any understanding of the state's nonpublic school situation. It does this not only in general terms but on the basis as well of separate reports concerning the Catholic school situation in the four dioceses of Louisiana and on the basis of information from the other (non-Catholic) nonpublic schools. Chapter 4 summarizes the major conclusions and implications of race, region, and religion as they pertain to nonpublic education and to policy issues. Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8 are case studies descriptive of distinctive nonpublic school situations in Louisiana. The appendices provide not only important documentary and other materials but also discuss the methodology employed in the study.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Donald A. Erickson and George F. Madaus, *Issues of Aid to Nonpublic Schools*, Vols 1-4 (with John D. Donovan as co-author of Vol. 2), Final Report to the President's Commission on School Finance (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: Center for Field Research and School Services, Boston College, June 1971, offset)

[2] Throughout the discussion that follows, the following regional definitions of the NCEA Data Bank are adopted: *New England*: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut; *Mideast*: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, and the District of Columbia; *Great Lakes*: Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin; *Plains*: Minnesota, North Dakota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska; *Southeast*: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia; *West and Far West*: Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Utah, Wyoming, Alaska, California, Hawaii, Nevada, Oregon, and Washington.

2. RELIGIOUS AND REGIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

Why is Louisiana different? We discovered in chapter 1 that nonpublic schools in the Southeast, and particularly in Louisiana, seem significantly more attractive to patrons in recent years than do nonpublic schools elsewhere in the United States. To restate the Louisiana situation in its national context: With the exception of Catholic high schools in the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Catholic schools of each of the state's four dioceses, at both elementary and secondary levels, hit an all-time enrollment high at some point during the 1960's (as did Catholic schools nationally) and waned rather steadily thereafter. Unlike the national picture, however, the Louisiana enrollment attrition was abruptly modified in 1969-70. At that point, Catholic elementary school enrollment dropped at a noticeably slower pace in the New Orleans archdiocese and expanded by 14.9 per cent in the Alexandria diocese, 12.2 per cent in the Baton Rouge diocese, and 9.5 per cent in the Lafayette diocese. In the same year, Catholic high school enrollment grew by 7.9 per cent in the Baton Rouge diocese and 9.1 per cent in the Lafayette diocese. As for the other (non-Catholic) schools in the state, those from which the Department of Education of Louisiana was gathering data experienced a dramatic 90.3 per cent growth in that single year! Nationally, we know that nonCatholic nonpublic schools as a total group are perhaps best characterized as "holding their own" so far as enrollment is concerned. No remarkable expansion has been occurring in recent years.

Even apart from the striking figures for 1969-70, Louisiana's longer-term enrollment trends differ from the national tendency. Nationally, between 1960-61 and 1970-71, Catholic elementary schools lost 23.1 per cent of their students. In Louisiana, the corresponding figure is 12.8 per cent. More recently, between 1965-66 and 1970-71, the Catholic elementary school student population plunged by 25.2 per cent nationally, but only by 12.7 per cent in Louisiana. At the secondary level, Catholic school enrollment has begun to drop only very recently; so when a time-span of a decade or so is considered, trends are upward rather than downward. During the period from 1960-61 to 1970-71, Catholic high school enrollment increased by 17.5 per cent nationally, but by a remarkable 26.8 per cent in Louisiana.

Another interesting feature in Louisiana is the sudden disappearance of approximately 3,000 students from the Catholic elementary schools of the New Orleans archdiocese in 1962-63, a setback immediately preceded and followed by several years of expansion.

As evidence in chapter 3 will demonstrate, there is an obvious relationship between numerous enrollment characteristics in Louisiana nonpublic schools and race-related events. As we point out in that chapter, one must be careful not to equate the relationship with "racism," as many people viewing the South from a distance seem prone to do. In the present chapter, we must consider the possibility that race-related events constitute only part of the story. We must entertain complementary and competing explanations for unusual enrollment patterns in Louisiana and the Southeast, particularly with respect to the recent remarkable attractiveness of nonpublic schools in those areas as compared with nonpublic schools elsewhere. It may be that much of the competitive potency of the nonpublic schools can logically be attributed to non-racial factors of a regional or religious nature.

Perceived Quality of Public Education

To ask about the quality of public schools is in a sense tendentious. More than that, it is a question beyond the proper scope of this inquiry. However, we have evidence relating to perceptions of Louisiana citizens concerning the adequacy of their public schools. If public schools are widely perceived as inferior to nonpublic schools, the competitive attractiveness of nonpublic schools will be enhanced, regardless of whether the perceptions have any basis in fact.

There is remarkable agreement among our Louisiana informants that in the area of New Orleans, particularly, and probably in southern Louisiana as a whole, the best schools are generally assumed, accurately or inaccurately, to be nonpublic. This situation may not apply in northern Louisiana, where the vast majority of school-age children attend the public schools. In Greater New Orleans, the schools of highest repute seem to be nonsectarian--Louise S. McGehee, Metarie Park Country Day, and Isidore Newman[1]. The Catholic schools are not quite so highly esteemed, apparently, but are still reputedly much superior to public schools. The Jesuit High School, particularly, seems so regarded. Executives moving to New Orleans are often advised, we are informed, not to enroll their children in the public schools.

From time to time over a period of decades, scathing denunciations have been leveled at Louisiana's public schools. Whether justified or not, these broadsides must affect public opinion. In his recent historical treatise, Davis recounts criticism concerning state standards for teacher certification (which still seem prescriptive in ridiculous detail), the content of teacher-preparation programs in colleges and universities, "fringe" or "noncontent" courses in high schools, lunch programs, transportation costs, "automatic" promotions, the preservation of schools too small to permit economies of scale, inadequate programs for the handicapped, and many ill-equipped teachers.[2]

During the 1930's and early 1940's in New Orleans, Crain claims that "a politically influenced [public] school board had let a weak school system deteriorate."[3] He based his conclusion on interviews with citizens. The board seemed preoccupied with the manipulation of school employment opportunities as a system of political patronage. Crain reports there was a scandalous over-supply of maintenance workers, yet buildings were in such disrepair that in 1948 an independent study branded 37 of the white and 84 per cent of the black elementary public school structures as unfit for use. A major municipal reform movement was launched by New Orleanians in the late 1940's, but in Crain's estimation it never succeeded.

In 1969, the Regional Planning Commission for Jefferson, Orleans, and St. Bernard (Civil) Parishes (all in the Greater New Orleans area) sponsored an opinion survey whose design seems adequate for sampling the attitudes of community leaders on a variety of issues.[4] On the topic of education, the following conclusions, among others, were reported:

> Education, like most of the other areas of community life in the three parishes, was perceived by most respondents to be less than adequate. These attitudes concerning education can best be summarized by the following highlights:
>
> 1. Funding emerged as the primary difficulty in providing quality education. The greatest problem concerning funding was the financing of the school systems through ad valorem taxes, which are not growing as rapidly as the enrollments. Leaders complained that the

public was not sufficiently aware that the school system is being financed through ad valorem taxes.

2. Respondents felt that one possible source of citizen resentment to supporting public education is the fact that 30% of the children in the area attend private or parochial schools (45% of the white children). Property owners whose children are not enrolled in the public school system may oppose taxation for the public schools.

3. Leaders in the sample who reside in Orleans Parish [coterminous with the city of New Orleans] were most critical of the quality of education in the area. Their criticism was directed as much at Jefferson as at Orleans school system. Black and white respondents from Orleans Parish were equally critical. Respondents of both races from Jefferson were less critical than were those from Orleans, but more so than those survey participants residing in St. Bernard. The St. Bernard respondents were well satisfied with the quality of education in the area (or, at least, in their parish).

4. The quality of education was perceived to be the highest for white students in universities and in private and parochial schools. Educational opportunities were seen to be least available to students in technical and trade schools and to black public school students. In addition, educational opportunities were perceived to be greater for white public school students than for either black univer sity students or black students in private and parochial schools.

5. The only criteria by which the area's system of education was deemed adequate (and here, barely so) was in the overall quality of teachers and in the quality of the university departments of education that produced them. While the quality and quantity of books and supplies were perceived to be neither good nor bad, black and white respondents from Orleans provided attitudinal data which suggested that there was a racial disparity in Orleans concerning this aspect of the system. These two Orleans subsamples differ little in their evaluation of other standards by which educational systems can be judged.

The two criteria by which education in the area received its harshest criticism were the effectiveness of schools in generating ambition in poverty areas and their effectiveness in reducing future racial prejudice. The system was said to be doing an adequate job in only 13% of the sample in terms of the former criterion, and by 18% of the sample in terms of the latter.[5]

A 1971 opinion survey in New Orleans reported that, whereas 25 per cent of respondents among the general public thought the public schools were getting better, 31 per cent said the schools were getting worse.[6] The pessimism was more pronounced among teachers, 47 per cent of whom said the schools were slipping, while only 18 per cent spoke of improvements. When asked to explain their pessimism, citizens mentioned, more than any other reason, matters of racial integration and student discipline. Whites had a strong tendency to speak of integration, while blacks more often complained of inadequate discipline. But one must be careful when interpreting parental complaints about school desegregation. Many parents seem to believe that the physical safety and learning opportunities of children from privileged backgrounds are compromised when a school accepts many children (regardless of their race) from disadvantaged homes. Some informants point to a few public schools in New Orleans that have maintained a racial balance (approaching 50 per cent white and 50 per cent black) for a number of years with no apparent difficulty. The secret, according to these individuals, is skillful administration--the maintenance of disciplinary stability and instructional efficiency. If so, the requisite administrative abilities may be lacking in many New Orleans public schools, for parents, we are told, are moving away rapidly.

Criticizing the New Orleans public schools from another standpoint, the education task force of the "Goals to Grow" program, sponsored by a citizen group seeking to influence public policies on a broad range of topics, maintains that "the community is at war with its schools."[7] The report attacks what it describes as the basic assumptions of the public school system in New Orleans:

> It is the system that is at fault and not mainly the administrators or teachers in it. The reason the system is at fault is that it needs a new model. Mass education has grown simultaneously with the growth of mass industrial production and has borrowed many of its assumptions. For example, present education assumes that all children are identical, like so many boxes of soap. Second, it assumes that education is the processing of children by a school as if they were cards being fed through a computor. Third, it assumes that children will all benefit from the same type of education as if they were clay which would all take the same mold. Finally, it assumes that a unit of money will produce a unit of education just as any dime will buy a coke.[8]

"Goals to Grow" castigates public (and at times, nonpublic) schools for failing to provide three vital options:

> The first missing option is simply that if you are not between 6 and 18 years of age it is practically impossible to get an education. . . . The second missing option is the option of simultaneously receiving a liberal and a vocational education . . . . Vocations are what most of the people of the metropolitan area do most of their life. But it has little place in the curricula of Catholic or private schools of the region, and the public schools freely admit that they are not meeting the need. . . . And the third missing option is that the students by and large can learn academic subjects in only one way in our one-way system.[9]

Our time deadlines have not permitted acquisition of as much information concerning public schools elsewhere in Louisiana (and the Southeast) as we have acquired for Greater New Orleans. However, well informed individuals insist that the relatively inglorious standing of public schools in the minds of citizens in the New Orleans area is not generally atypical of the state. The reference from the history by Davis concerns public schools throughout the state. Furthermore, much of the public school problem seems inherent in the Louisiana constitution, which of course affects the entire state. The fiscal starvation of public schools in some areas is attributable in part to the political power of the (civil) parish assessors, who, as elected officials, have good reason to hold taxes to a minimum. We are informed of $80,000 homes in Jefferson (Civil) Parish on which an annual real estate tax of less than $20 per year is levied. In addition, the state grants massive tax exemptions to industrial firms as a way of attracting them to Louisiana. Crain points out that business leaders in Louisiana are much more vulnerable to state politicians than to local politicians and thus seem disinterested in local political affairs.[10] In New Orleans, this neglect is probably accentuated by a status structure that emphasizes family origins more than wealth and civic leadership.

As for the Southeast as a whole, it is well known that most states in this region rank very low in comparison with other states in the nation on various indices of educational adequacy. Many parents may be aware of this tendency.

In numerous areas of Louisiana where nonpublic schools are particularly strong, it would probably be feasible (were sufficient time and resources available) to document the existence of special public school problems. Merely as an example, we gathered limited data from Jefferson (Civil) Parish, a suburban area of Greater New Orleans where, as data introduced in chapter 3 will show, a surprisingly large number of nonpublic schools are flourishing at the present time. Chapter 3 will discuss some difficult race-related complications faced by public schoolmen in Jefferson (Civil) Parish. For present purposes, it is sufficient to observe some dramatic consequences, summarized in Tables 2/1 and 2/2, of the major population increase that the civil parish experienced over a recent ten-year span. Public school officials describe the citizens of Jefferson (Civil) Parish as generous in authorising bond issues and sales tax increases to help meet the spiraling costs, but even if these claims are accurate, the school district has been unable to construct new buildings quickly enough to accomodate the burgeoning student population. For this reason, coupled with related fiscal pressures, students have been attending public school classes in double shifts for more than three years. There is widespread agreement that the attractiveness of nonpublic schools in Jefferson (Civil) Parish, and even in adjoining civil parishes, is in major measure a result of widespread assumption that the public schools are too overcrowded and underfinanced to provide adequate instruction.

But generally, it would be tenuous to conclude that the perception of many citizens that public schools cannot provide adequate learning opportunities is the major explanation for the holding of nonpublic schools in Louisiana and the Southeast. In the Southeast as a whole, public schools have been in considerable obloquy for many years, yet that region traditionally has had fewer nonpublic schools than any other part of the country. It would be difficult to find a major city whose schools show more signs of degeneration than Boston's,[11] yet nonpublic schools in Boston have been declining at an alarming rate.[12] But perceptions of public school inadequacy are no doubt part of the explanation we seek. In two studies in the North, at least, the evidence indicates that nonpublic schools are viewed more favorably relative to public schools in the suburbs, where public schools tend to have fairly good reputations, than in the central cities, where public schools are generally scandalous.[13]

We must consider, as the reverse of the coin, one widespread contention documented in an above-described survey: that nonpublic schools are a major cause of substandard public education. When sending their own children to nonpublic schools, the argument runs, the elite and powerful have less reason to to demand and support improvements in public education. Similar charges have been voiced in many other areas, including Boston, New Haven, and the entire state of Massachusetts.[14]

TABLE 2/1

SOME CONSEQUENCES IN JEFFERSON (CIVIL) PARISH PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF RECENT POPULATION GROWTH,1958-59 TO 1968-69

School Year	Registration	Average Daily Membership	Number of Teachers	High School Graduates	Average Teacher Salary	Average Operational Cost Per Pupil in Adm.
1958-59	30,478	29,299.4	965	766	$4,044.67	$188.35
1959-60	32,817	31,801.7	1100	944	4,234.93	209.70
1960-61	35,459	34,358.9	1189	1031	4,611.21	216.75
1961-62	38,674	37,258.2	1310	1134	4,612.71	221.39
1962-63	43,494	41,838.6	1512	1192	4,527.57	224.10
1963-64	46,067	44,293.4	1632	1652	4,679.99	233.54
1964-65	48,298	46,148.1	1764	1940	4,969.00	263.60
1965-66	50,323	47,133.3	1928	2019	5,606.40	296.92
1066-67	52,585	49,807.0	2080	2047	6,513.02	352.29
1967-68	57,435	55,082.7	2340	2163	7,300.75	418.85
1968-69	60,072*		2575		7,746.75	455.21

*As of October 22, 1968

Source: Jefferson (Civil) Parish Public Schools

TABLE 2/2

NUMBER OF JEFFERSON (CIVIL) PARISH PUBLIC SCHOOLS,1958-59 THROUGH 1968-69*

Year	Elem.	Elem. & Jr. High	Elem. & Sr. High	Sr. High	Jr. & Sr. High	Jr. High	Special	Total
1958-59	32	5	2	2	1	4	1	47
1959-60	33	5	2	2	1	4	1	48
1960-61	34	6	2	2	1	4	1	50
1961-62	38	6	2	2	1	5	2	56
1962-63	39	6	2	3	1	6	2	59
1963-64	39	6	2	3	1	6	2	59
1964-65	40	6	2	3	1	6	2	60
1965-66	40	6	2	3	1	6	2	60
1966-67	41	6	2	3	1	6	2	61
1967-68	49	4	2	3	1	7	3	69
1968-69	46	4	2	5	1	8	3	69

*Although numerous schools have been constructed, the over-all total does not reflect the total number of schools, for numerous substandard schools have been closed, reducing total shown here.

Source: Jefferson (Civil) Parish Public Schools

As we observed in our earlier work for the Commission, however, these allegations are not substantiated by the limited available evidence.[15] In areas where nonpublic schools are most numerous, public schools are not generally worse off than elsewhere; in fact, the opposite may be the case, as a result of the fact that so many children are educated at private rather than public expense. In contrast to the idea that Louisiana's public schools are less than outstanding because so many nonpublic schools are available, we find more logic in several explanations discussed earlier--such as the unique status system of New Orleans and various provisions of the state constitution. In fact, if the constitution makes it particularly difficult in Louisiana to provide public schools with adequate fiscal support, there may be more need than elsewhere to relieve the financial strain of the public schools by attracting as many children as possible into nonpublic schools. In the absence of further research in this connection, however, no firm conclusions are warranted.

Quality of Nonpublic Schools

What now of the educational quality of Louisiana's (and the Southeast's) nonpublic schools? Is their impressive holding power in recent years a function of some marked or unusual superiority in comparison with other nonpublic schools in the country?

The data here are inconclusive. Concerning the educational quality of many nonpublic schools there is simply no reliable evidence. Some, as we have noted, like the Louise S. McGehee School, Metarie Park County Day, and Newman School in Greater New Orleans, are generally, acknowledged to be schools of high repute. Others, such as the Catholic schools, are not quite so highly regarded, but some like Jesuit High School, are purportedly much superior to public schools. On the other hand, it is widely reported that quality education is not a conspicuous feature of the so-called "segregationist academies." Some in Plaquemines (Civil) Parish are allegedly surviving mainly because children are being bused from adjoining Jefferson (Civil) Parish where, integration aside, the public schools are operating on double shifts because of a scarcity of facilities and operating funds, as we observed earlier.

It may be somewhat useful in this regard to examine some figures from the National Catholic Educational Association's Data Bank, though in the time available we have been able to obtain breakdowns only by region, for the most part, rather than for Louisiana as a whole and for its four Catholic dioceses.

To the extent that a college degree and teacher certification requirements are indicative of instructional ability, there is nothing in Tables 2/3 and 2/4 to suggest that Catholic schools in the Southeast are notably superior to Catholic schools elsewhere. Our Louisiana interviews indicate that Catholic leaders are striving to develop fully certified school faculties, but the fact is neither educationally impressive nor particularly unusual among Catholic schools in the United States.

Table 2/3

Percentage of Teachers in Catholic Schools
Without B.A. Degree By Geographical Region
1970-71

	Elementary			Secondary		
	Reglgious	Lay	Total	Religious	Lay	Total
N.E.	17.6	21.7	19.2	2.4	2.4	2.4
Mideast	25.1	44.4	34.6	2.2	5.3	3.6
G. Lakes	11.9	29.2	21.8	0.8	2.0	1.4
Plains	8.3	36.5	22.8	0.6	0.6	0.6
S. East	15.9	41.3	31.3	1.8	3.4	2.7
West	15.2	25.2	25.3	1.4	5.1	3.2

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 2-13, Appendix B.

We do not wish to imply, however, that nonpublic schools in Louisiana have made no important instructional contributions. The surprisingly rapid impact on public schools of the Free School in New Orleans is documented in chapter 5. Chapter 6 provides evidence that the Isidore Newman School in New Orleans led local schools in the introduction of a number of innovations over the years. Chapter 7 discusses the experimentation that is occurring in an all-black Catholic school in Lake Charles. The contributions of several other Catholic schools are discussed at various points in chapter 3, particularly so far as black Catholics are concerned.

Officials of the Diocese of Baton Rouge claim to be developing an extensive emphasis on nongrading in all their

TABLE 2/4

PERCENTAGE OF TEACHERS IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS HOLDING, OR QUALIFYING FOR, STATE TEACHING CERTIFICATES, 1970-71

	ELEMENTARY			SECONDARY		
	Religious	Lay	Total	Religious	Lay	Total
New England						
(a) Certified	61.8	49.9	57.1	68.4	53.0	62.3
(b) Certifiable	24.8	34.2	28.5	26.2	36.1	30.1
(a) plus (b)	86.6	84.1	85.6	94.6	89.1	92.4
Mideast						
(a) Certified	46.6	28.1	37.3	52.5	35.5	44.7
(b) Certifiable	33.7	34.5	34.1	35.2	40.3	37.6
(a) plus (b)	80.3	62.6	71.4	87.7	75.8	82.3
Great Lakes						
(a) Certified	74.2	64.5	68.5	69.9	78.0	74.2
(b) Certifiable	18.6	17.9	18.2	25.4	17.6	21.3
(a) plus (b)	92.8	82.4	86.7	95.3	95.6	95.5
Plains						
(a) Certified	86.1	77.6	81.6	86.8	92.6	89.5
(b) Certifiable	9.3	9.9	9.6	12.6	6.2	9.6
(a) plus (b)	95.4	87.5	91.2	99.4	98.8	99.1
Southeast						
(a) Certified	70.2	60.0	63.9	88.2	90.1	89.2
(b) Certifiable	21.8	19.1	20.1	9.4	7.5	8.3
(a) plus (b)	92.0	79.1	84.0	97.6	97.6	97.5
West & Far West						
(a) Certified	66.3	54.0	60.0	66.9	64.0	65.5
(b) Certifiable	19.6	21.5	20.6	24.5	21.5	23.0
(a) plus (b)	85.9	75.5	80.6	91.4	85.5	88.5

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 2-14, Appendix B elementary schools. All reading instruction purportedly is nongraded at the present time. All language arts instruction will be included in the nongraded system during the second semester of 1971-72. Mathematics is to be added next year. Unless the nongraded methods adopted by the diocese are extremely unusual, however, one would not expect to see any notable improvements in instruction. Though designed to produce fundamental classroom changes, nongrading apparently has done so very seldom in actual practice.[16]

Interestingly, we encountered in the Diocese of Lafayette an instance of the type of resistance to school experimentation that has been fairly typical in public education, but seldom has been documented in nonpublic schools. In 1969, the Catholic high school in the town of Jeanerette (in "Cajun country") was destroyed by fire. The Sisters of Mercy, who provided most of the staffing for the school, decided to replace the structure with a building designed to facilitate unconventional instruction. When classes reopened, various team teaching arrangements were introduced, along with nongrading, individualized programs of instruction, and the discussion of controversial issues in English and Social Studies. In the brouhaha that followed, the nuns withheld their services for a time, a group of laymen newly returned from a religious retreat clashed with the pastor, and 200 children transferred to the public school.

If forced to make a judgement on the basis of the largely impressionistic evidence, we would conclude tentatively that nonpublic schools serving all-black or predominantly black constituencies may in a significant proportion of cases be performing vital functions that nearby public schools are not equipped to perform. As for nonpublic schools as a total group, however, the available evidence does not create an image of exceptionally effective or unusually innovative programs. (We have noted some exceptions, we should reemphasize.) In the eyes of numerous informants, nonpublic schools in Louisiana as a whole may even be ultra-traditional in important particulars. To some parents, of course, such schools are the more attractive for their traditionalism. But we see no good reason to attribute the unusual holding power of the majority of nonpublic schools in Louisiana and the Southeast to an unusual standard of excellence.

Availability of Public Assistance

Can we explain the lack of any striking enrollment decline in Louisiana nonpublic schools by showing that these schools have enjoyed special access to federal, state, or local assistance, direct or indirect? In this connection we must consider the three major sources of possible help in recent years: participation in Title I programs under the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act (hereinafter identified as Title I, ESEA); state provision of direct or indirect financial assistance; and various locally initiated "sharing programs."

National research on Title I, ESEA, suggests that public school officials frequently have been remiss in involving nonpublic schoolmen in the planning of federally financed programs for disadvantaged children, and consequently, that disadvantaged children in nonpublic schools often have not benefitted to the degree that Congress intended.[17] In many cases, participation by these students has been directly proportionate to the pressure nonpublic schoolmen have exerted in demanding that the guidelines of the law be followed. Louisiana is apparently no exception in this regard.

Since they are the only nonpublic schools with significant numbers of students who qualify for participation in Title I programs, our evidence is limited to the Catholic schools, for the most part.

Officials of the Archdiocese of New Orleans report that students in Catholic schools in Plaquemines (Civil) Parish are permitted no participation at all in Title I, ESEA, programs, despite the demands of the law. The explanation seems to lie partly in the hostility of Plaquemines Parish officials that was fanned during controversies over racial integration in Catholic schools in 1962 and 1963 (described in chapter 3) and partly in the fact, corroborated by federal investigators in November, 1970, that the Louisiana State Department of Education had not been fulfilling its legal responsibility to enforce the Title I guidelines.[18]

Within the boundaries of the Orleans (Civil) Parish public school district, Catholic school students reportedly received no Title I benefits before 1967-68. The public school superintendent at that time, Carl Dolce, all informants agree, displayed rather obvious antagonism toward the Catholic schools. In 1967-68, when the Catholic Archdiocesan school superintendent threatened to sue in the federal courts, Dolce relented. As a rule of thumb to avoid further clashes, it was agreed that since the Catholic schools were educating approximately 10 per cent of the black students in the city of New Orleans and since Title I programs were concentrated almost exclusively on black students, approximately 10 per cent of Title I benefits should go to

Catholic school children. The agreement worked rather smoothly, though whenever a "summit meeting" was held between the public and Catholic superintendents, the two men reportedly "could not agree on the time of day." Most controversies were ultimately resolved at lower levels.

In November, 1970, however, a monitor from the U.S. Office of Education found numerous violations of federal Title I requirements in New Orleans and several other areas of Louisiana. In the process, he declared that the agreement concerning 10 per cent participation, since it was based upon the assumption that black students could be equated with "educationally disadvantaged students," could no longer be followed. Since he offered no unambiguous guidelines as a replacement, one effect of his action was to create an opportunity for repeated disagreements between public school and Catholic school officials. Since that time, conflicts have arisen over the following issues, among others:

(1) Though not intentionally, it appears, public school officials draw their "target area" boundaries for Title I programs in such a way as to exclude some students in Catholic schools who would otherwise qualify.

(2) Some Catholic schools lack the physical facilities that are necessary for participation in some Title I programs. Catholic leaders cannot persuade public school officials that portable facilities should be provided for this purpose under Title I. Public schoolmen feel that the funds should be used for what they see as more critical needs of disadvantaged New Orleans youngsters.

(3) Public schools have been using Title I funds for a school for unwed mothers, for the Gateway High School (described in chapter 5), and for various programs for the emotionally disturbed. No students can participate in the first two programs mentioned and still remain in Catholic schools, and few students in Catholic schools can qualify for the programs for the emotionally disturbed. From the standpoint of public schoolmen, it can be argued that the needs of these two groups of students are a more important consideration than some arbitrary division of benefits among students in public and Catholic schools.

(4) Catholic schoolmen say a larger number of children should be provided with at least minimal Title I assistance. Public schoolmen prefer to provide more intensive help to a smaller number, arguing that the available research on compensatory educational programs shows thinly spread benefits to be a waste of money.

(5) Recently the public schools distributed a questionnaire designed to determine what Title I programs teachers desired and found most effective. Despite requests and protestations from Catholic officials, the questionnaires were not distributed to teachers in Catholic schools, and programs that Catholic officials had requested were not mentioned in the questionnaire items. Time pressures were at least partially responsible for these discrepancies.

The disagreements over Title I participation reached a climax in the fall of 1971. In meetings earlier in the year, Catholic officials had requested that the participation of their students under Title I be designed to consist of a language arts program, the necessary equipment to make it possible, a diagnostic center, and a physical education program. When public school officials ruled that the physical education program could not be provided in Catholic schools since it was not funded under Title I in public schools, Catholic officials insisted that, as a trade-off, the language arts and diagnostic services must be extended to students in an additional three Catholic schools. Some informants report there was a tentative agreement in this regard.

In the meantime, citizens in New Orleans voiced so many complaints about reading problems that a public school official decided to use some Title I money for remedial reading in public schools only, and without consulting Catholic officials, he revised the Title I proposal accordingly. In this connection, again, the shortage of time and the fact that many people were away on vacations must be considered. Later, a few hours before the deadline for submission of the proposal, it was discovered that some inexperienced personnel had made an error of $2 million in the proposal budget. In the process of making necessary cutbacks in great haste, public school officials deleted several items that Catholic officials considered vital.

When Catholic leaders learned of the changes, they sent letters to the state and federal governments, demanding that $4,225,151 in Title I funds to the Orleans Parish Public Schools be frozen until the Title I programs had been redesigned in keeping with the guidelines of the law. As of this writing, after many letters, maneuvers, charges, press releases, and meetings, the issue is still unresolved, though a federal team reportedly is planning to investigate the situation first-hand as soon as the Washington weather turns sufficiently miserable. (A collection of relevant letters is reproduced in Appendix B.)

In the Diocese of Baton Rouge, somewhat similarly, the current school superintendent reports that when he assumed office in August, 1969, there was practically no participation in Title I, ESEA programs on the part of students in the Catholic schools in Baton Rouge, though public schoolmen in the rural parts of the diocese had been more cooperative. After the diocesan superintendent documented the exclusion of many needy students from Title I benefits and threatened court action, Baton Rouge public school officials called a meeting to plan, with the participation of Catholic leaders, for future Title I programs. Since then, diocesan officials have considered the situation satisfactory. During the present school year (1971-72), for example, four reading laboratories will be maintained in Baton Rouge Catholic schools under Title I funding. The diocesan superintendent has some misgivings concerning the process by which personnel for the laboratories were selected by public schoolmen, but is not inclined to challenge them in this regard. He seems eager to maintain the feelings of mutual trust that now appear to exist between him and his public school counterpart.

The Diocesan Superintendent of Schools in Lafayette reports that Catholic students are "definitely not," in his perception, participating in Title I programs to an equitable extent. Many Title I reading centers are maintained in public schools, but none in Catholic schools. Catholic officials in the area are "only negligibly" involved in the planning of Title I services. One exception seems to be St. Martin (Civil) Parish, where according to several informants, fairly extensive Title I benefits have been made available to students in Catholic schools.

In the Diocese of Alexandria, covering the northern part of Louisiana, the Title I situation seems mixed, depending upon the relationships between public and Catholic officials that exist from civil parish to civil parish. In the civil parishes of Caddo and Morehouse, for example, it is reported that Catholic school children will be participating in Title I benefits this year (1971-72) for the first time, whereas in such civil parishes as Avoyelles, Natchitoches, and Rapides, Catholic school children have benefitted "liberally" for several years.

Since figures are unavailable concerning the average per-pupil value of Title I services provided to children in Louisiana Catholic schools, no precise comparisons with other states are possible. We can see no basis, however, for attributing the enrollment stability of these schools to an unusual degree of assistance from Title I, ESEA, sources. Even if the participation had been unusual, the universal experience seems to be that, while indirect benefits of this type aid children and help improve school programs, they do little to alleviate financial crises for the schools themselves.[19]

Turning to the question of state aid to nonpublic schools, we discover that Louisiana has distinguished itself in two particulars: First, its provision of free textbooks to children in nonpublic schools in the 1920's led to the famous Supreme Court case (Cochran vs. Louisiana State Board of Education, 281 U.S. 370, 1930) in which the principle was established nationally that aid to school children could be distinguished, for constitutional purposes, from aid to the school itself. The U.S. Supreme Court quoted with approval the following statement of the Louisiana Supreme Court:

> One may scan the acts in vain to ascertain where any money is appropriated for the purchase of school books for the use of any church, private, sectarian or even public school. The appropriations were made for the specific purpose of purchasing school books for the use of the school children of the state, free of cost to them . . . . The schools . . . are not the beneficiaries of these appropriations.

Since 1930, Louisiana has broadened its aid to students in nonpublic schools to include school lunch programs and free transportation (wherever it is provided to public school students). We encountered no complaints that these benefits had been provided inequitably. In some states (for example, Michigan) where much more extensive indirect benefits were provided for several years, however, nonpublic schools continued to experience alarming enrollment declines.[20] There is little reason to believe that the provision of state-financed textbooks, school lunches, and transportation in Louisiana is to any major extent responsible for the surprisingly continued attractiveness to patrons of the state's nonpublic schools.

Louisiana has earned the further distinction, as Norman Dorsen observes, of having attempted with unusual persistence to provide public support for nonpublic schools transparently designed to avoid integration.[21] In 1958, the Louisiana legislature enacted a law permitting public schools under desegregation orders to be reconstituted as "private" schools, though they would operate as before, in the same buildings, with the same personnel. A federal court invalidated this law in 1961.[22] The legislature substituted a provision whereby tuition payments would be provided to students and parents, who could then use the money to support "private" schools. As an additional constitutional maneuver, the program was to be administered by a "Financial Assistance Commission" instead of the State Board of Education. This second attempt was outlawed by a federal court in August, 1966.[23] One aspect of the case is echoed in litigation discussed in chapter 3: the court declared that "any amount of state support" to an ostensibly "private" school was sufficient to render the school "public" for constitutional purposes, subjecting the school to the same constitutional limitations that apply to schools publicly administered. That principle, if broadly applied, has profound implications for governmental regulation of nonpublic schools. "In short," Dorsen concludes, "I belive that the 'law' is there and waiting under which an enterprising court could rule that 'private schools are subject to the constitutional command to desegregate. Whether it will be so employed is perhaps less a legal than a political question, less a matter of principle than of timing."[24] Indeed, if the courts apply constitutional principles to state-assisted nonpublic schools on issues of racial segregation (no matter how small the aid, including perhaps property tax exemptions and free textbooks), the approach could easily be extended to other constitutional areas, including questions of equal educational opportunity recently opened by the California and Minnesota supreme courts!

After the Poindexter decision demolished Louisian's second effort to provide aid to "segregationist academies," the legislative line-up shifted. Further attempts to obtain state aid for nonpublic schools were led, not by the pro-segregationists, but by the Louisiana affiliate of a national organization that has become well known in recent years--Citizens for Educational Freedom (CEF). As elsewhere in the nation, CEF in Louisiana is closely associated with the Catholic church. Its president is Emile Comar, a Catholic layman active for many years in church affairs in New Orleans. One finds in CEF's literature most of the arguments in favor of tax support of nonpublic schools that were examined extensively in our earlier work for the President's Commission on School Finance.[25]

Two major problems apparently confronted CEF in its campaign for public aid: an element of anti-Catholicism, particularly in the Baptist stronghold that is northern Louisiana; and a virile public school lobby. CEF leaders felt powerless to do much about anti-Catholic attitudes, so they concentrated on finding ways to neutralize the opposition of the public school lobby. For example, CEF took a strong, widely publicized stand in favor of teacher salary increases that were considered (and passed) by the state legislature in 1970 and 1971. The organization drew public attention to the support Catholic leaders provided for passage of a $50 million bond issue floated by the Orleans (Civil) Parish public schools.

The first two attempts by CEF to push bills through the legislature were unsuccessful. On the third attempt, in 1970, some opposition was reduced by means of a strong clause withholding aid from schools utilizing racial admissions criteria. Later, though the anti-discrimination clause was considerably weakened, the legislature passed the Louisiana Educational Secular Services Act. Identified by Louisiana newspapers as the "CEF Law," the statute was obviously patterned after similar enactments in Pennsylvania, Michigan, and several other northern states. The Act authorized the state superintendent of schools to "make contracts for the purchase of educational services directly with teachers of secular subjects." Under the contracts, the state would pay, to teachers providing instruction in "secular subjects"[26] in nonpublic schools, salaries ranging as high as those paid to public school teachers with equivalent qualifications.

Public reaction was swift and to a considerable extent negative. It was negative partly because some of the state's most expensive nonpublic schools (as had been the case in Pennsylvania) would receive significant assistance. The Isidore Newman School (described in chapter 6), which was scheduled to receive more than $150,000 during the first year, charges tuition as high as $1400 a year. The Louise S. McGehee School, which we identified earlier as one of the "elite" New Orleans institutions, was eligible for aid totalling $58,590.[27]

Catholic school administrators indicated that the state assistance would provide their schools with "a new lease on life." Particular enthusiasm was expressed by administrators of black Catholic schools, who felt that the legislation would enable them to compete academically with the more liberally financed, predominantly white Catholic schools.

Sidney Seegers, President of the Louisiana Teachers Association, challenged the constitutionality of the new law in the Louisiana Supreme Court, which permitted a by-pass of the district court by assuming "emergency jurisdiction." In a 4 to 3 decision based exclusively on provisions of the state constitution, the court ruled that the statutes violated state constitutional prohibitions against: (1) enactment of any law respecting an establishment of religion, (2) expenditure of any money from public sources directly or indirectly, in aid of any religious group, or in aid of any one engaged in the capacity of minister, or teacher of such group, and (3) appropriating funds to any private or sectarian school.[28]

CEF has not abandoned its efforts. Legislative and litigative developments in other states are being examined carefully. Plans are being made to introduce into the Louisiana legislature bills carefully worded in an effort to provide assistance to nonpublic schools within boundaries defined by new rulings by the state and federal courts.

In Michigan, we discovered that a somewhat similar withdrawal of anticipated state aid had produced a devastating effect on the morale of teachers, administrators, and patrons in nonpublic schools, especially in the Catholic sector.[29] No comparable phenomenon was evidenced in our Louisiana interviews. It seems necessary to conclude, for this reason and others, that levels of nonpublic school enrollment in Louisiana cannot be explained by the presence or absence of state aid, direct or indirect, except, perhaps, for hypothetical projections involving assistance of a magnitude that seems both politically and constitutionally unrealistic.

With respect to locally initiated programs of "sharing," finally, one generalization is clear: Practically none of this is occurring in Louisiana, so far as the Catholic schools are concerned. School officials in the Archdiocese of New Orleans and the Diocese of Lafayette state that they have little to gain by promoting these approaches. The school superintendent of the Diocese of Baton Rouge declares that sharing between public and nonpublic schools, in his opinion, is out of the question because of certain provisions of the Louisiana constitution. In the Diocese of Lafayette, school officials identify a single parish school leader who once expressed an interest in developing a "shared time" experiment, but reportedly soon dropped the idea, for reasons unknown.

Local assistance could be important in some civil parishes so far as the viability of "segregationist academies" is concerned, though the sub rosa nature of this aid would make evidence difficult to obtain. We repeatedly encountered the charge that some local public school boards were going out of their way to assist these academies by providing free transportation, free textbooks, and other benefits. Our interviews, along with a quick examination of newspaper reports and federal court records, seem to indicate conclusively that public officials in Plaquemines (Civil) Parish built a costly swimming pool next door to a completely segregated private academy far from any population center, took many steps to discourage public school attendance, and in numerous other ways gave succour to the private schools overtly established to avoid racial integration. But Plaquemines (Civil) Parish politics have often been described by scholars as a scarcely credible anomaly.[30] We have no way of knowing the extent to which local public agencies throughout Louisiana have used tax funds to foster the development of schools of this special type. It is a phenomenon eminently worthy of research.

Magnitude of Cost Increases

Available data do not permit an exhaustive analysis of fiscal outlays in nonpublic schools in Louisiana and the Southeast as compared with disbursements in nonpublic schools elsewhere in the nation. The most direct comparison possible, so far as we can determine, is based upon per-pupil costs reported by U.S. Catholic dioceses for a two-year span, from 1967-68 to 1969-70. For a number of reasons, conclusions based upon these data must be tentative: A two-year span is not much of a sample so far as general trends are concerned, though we may make some illuminating comparisons across regions of the country in a given year. Since Catholic schools have only recently been adopting standard accounting systems, the figures are subject to distortions. Since the response rates are rather discouraging, we have no way of knowing whether the responding dioceses are representative of the target populations, nationally or regionally.

On the surface, the data in Table 2/5 suggest that relatively moderate rates of increase in per-pupil costs may help explain the relatively stable pupil enrollment in Catholic schools in the Southeast in recent years. However, the relationship is too tautological to warrant any conclusions, for recent per-pupil cost increases in Catholic schools have resulted, at least in part, from enrollment declines. Typically, Catholic administrators have not reduced the size of school staffs in proportion to reductions in student body size. So far as we know, this fact could account entirely for the observed modest relationship between costs and enrollment declines.

Tuition Levels

As the Notre Dame report on Economic Problems of Nonpublic Schools points out, several investigations concerning the effects of tuition fees on enrollment in Catholic schools have produced the finding that, when other factors are properly controlled, no significant relationship exists.[31] But since no representative samples were involved, the finding cannot confidently be generalized. According to evidence introduced in chapter 3, it appears in Louisiana that significant numbers of black parents have withdrawn their children from Catholic schools because of tuition increases. It may be informative, further, to compare the six regions of the United States to see whether the recent relative enrollment stability of Catholic schools in the Southeast can reasonably be attributed to lower tuition fees. Fortunately, the data permit comparisons to be made within five strata of family income (see Table 2/6).

There is obviously nothing in Table 2/6 to indicate that the unusual attractiveness to patrons of Catholic schools in the Southeast is a function of tuitions and other fees that are unusually low. To the contrary, in the elementary schools the relative levels of tuitions and other fees would lead us to anticipate a higher rate of enrollment decline in the Southeast than in any other region of the United States.

TABLE 2/5

PER PUPIL COSTS, AS REPORTED BY U.S. DIOCESES 1967-68 to 1969-1970

		ELEMENTARY		SECONDARY	
	Total No. of Dioceses	Dioceses Responding	Average Per Pupil Costs	Dioceses Responding	Average Per Pupil Costs
1967-68:					
New England	11	7	$126	7	$293
Mideast	23	10	128	11	306
Great Lakes	27	19	154	20	350
Plains	25	14	163	14	343
Southeast	22	11	125	12	281
West & Far West	42	26	149	26	368
United States	150	87	145	90	335
1968-69:					
New England	11	7	151	7	346
Mideast	23	15	161	15	364
Great Lakes	27	23	194	23	390
Plains	25	15	200	14	383
Southeast	22	14	149	14	330
West & Far West	42	29	182	28	418
United States	150	103	178	101	382
1969-70:					
New England	11	7	184	7	430
Mideast	23	13	197	14	424
Great Lakes	27	20	222	16	451
Plains	25	14	219	13	415
Southeast	22	13	172	13	377
West & Far West	42	28	195	28	465
United States	150	95	200	91	434

PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE
1967-68 to 1969-70

	ELEMENTARY	SECONDARY
New England	46.0	46.8
Mideast	53.9	27.8
Great Lakes	44.2	28.9
Plains	34.4	21.0
Southeast	37.6	34.2
West & Far West	30.9	26.4
United States	37.9	29.6

Source: NCEA Report, 1969-70, Table 61, p. 82. Percentage calculations are ours.

TABLE 2/6

AVERAGE PER-PUPIL TUITION AND FEE INCOME BY MODAL PARENTAL INCOME, CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN SIX REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

Grade Level And Region	MODAL PARENTAL INCOME			
	Under $5,000	$5,000- $9,999	$10,000- $24,999	$25,000 or more
Elementary Schools				
New England	57.67	56.32	92.23	45.89
Mideast	56.31	49.99	87.11	272.33
Great Lakes	74.51	58.96	81.95	264.67
Plains	34.16	32.51	28.29	185.87
Southeast	76.43	105.17	146.21	350.11
West & Far West	70.88	99.06	126.20	110.08
Secondary Schools				
New England	151.00	248.49	463.56	
Mideast	115.50	313.18	553.55	1,250.91
Great Lakes	238.27	300.89	424.47	708.86
Plains	204.63	215.63	404.89	
Southeast	173.20	297.64	423.40	
West & Far West	132.31	324.16	441.47	329.11

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 3-3, Appendix C.

TABLE 2/7

FULL TIME SISTERS IN CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1967 to 1970

	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71
New England	7210	6826 (-5.3)	6192 (-9.3)	5692 (-8.1)
Mideast	21348	20439 (-4.3)	18710 (-8.5)	17668 (-5.6)
Great Lakes	16541	15459 (-6.5)	14073 (-9.0)	12960 (-7.9)
Plains	6334	5953 (-6.0)	5567 (-6.5)	5153 (-7.4)
Southeast	4728	4508 (-4.7)	4237 (-6.0)	3914 (-7.6)
West and Far West	8401	7886 (-6.1)	7378 (-6.4)	6803 (-7.8)
United States	64562	61071 (-5.4)	56157 (-8.0)	52190 (-7.1)

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 2-1, p. 13.

Rate of Loss of "Religious" Teachers

Data on the declining supply of teachers from religious orders ("religious teachers" in Catholic parlance) are significant in two particulars. First, they may permit tentative comparisons among Louisiana dioceses with respect to one important source of cost increases. Typically, allowances for religious teachers are less than one-third as large as the salaries of lay teachers (teachers not from religious orders) in Catholic schools. Second, many patrons may view schools run primarily by lay teachers as no longer distinctively Catholic.

The rate of loss of teachers from religious communities in Catholic schools is not notably different in the Southeast from loss rates exhibited in other regions of the United States during the three-year span reflected in Tables 2/7 to 2/9. But the data in Table 2/10 reveal a rather serious loss of teaching sisters in Louisiana, although only the Archdiocese of New Orleans and the Diocese of Baton Rouge have been seriously affected.

As far as financial considerations are concerned, we can hardly make any firm cross-regional comparisons, since no data are available by region concerning per-pupil ratios, which would have to be controlled, along with such other functions as enrollment declines, in comparisons of that type. The departure of several sisters does not have the same impact when coupled with a school closure or the defection of many patrons as when enrollment is stable or expanding. And it is possible that some dioceses compensate for the loss of nuns by increasing class size to hold costs down.

Since our interviews suggest that pupil-teacher ratios are roughly comparable from diocese to diocese in Louisiana, however, and since we have data on enrollments, some tentative conclusions may be drawn within the state. It appears that expenditure increases occasioned by the waning supply of religious teachers may have been more serious in the elementary schools of the Archdiocese of New Orleans and the Diocese of Baton Rouge (particularly the former) than in the other two dioceses in Louisiana. During the three-year span reflected in Table 2/8, only two elementary schools were closed in the Archdiocese of New Orleans, yet at that level the system lost over 35 per cent of female staff members drawn from religious orders (a far larger proportion than the enrollment decline reflects). In contrast, the Diocese of Lafayette gained a significant number of religious teachers at the elementary level and the Diocese of Baton Rouge gained a significant number of religious teachers at the secondary level (in the latter case, in connection with opening of two new high schools). These tendencies correspond to enrollment trends across the dioceses at the elementary level. The area with the most sizeable enrollment decrease (the Archdiocese of New Orleans) lost many more nuns relative to enrollment than did the diocese with the smallest enrollment decrease (the Diocese of Alexandria).[32] We tentatively conclude, then, that the differential enrollment declines exhibited in the four Catholic dioceses of Louisiana may to some extent be attributable to a differential rate

TABLE 2/8

FULL TIME SISTERS IN CATHOLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1967 to 1971

	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71
New England	2072	2024 (-2.3)	2041 (.8)	2006 (-1.7)
Mideast	6488	6458 (- .5)	6609 (2.3)	6798 (2.9)
Great Lakes	5196	5017 (-2.9)	4769 (-4.9)	4303 (-9.8)
Plains	2206	2175 (-1.4)	2127 (-2.2)	2160 (1.6)
Southeast	1503	1483 (-1.3)	1487 (.4)	1421 (-4.4)
West and Far West	2511	2363 (-5.9)	2268 (-4.0)	2164 (-4.6)

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 2-2, p. 14.

TABLE 2/9

TOTAL FULL TIME SISTERS IN CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1967 to 1971

	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71
New England	9282	8850 (-4.7)	8233 (-7.0)	7698 (-6.5)
Mideast	27836	26897 (- .5)	25319 (-5.9)	24299 (-4.0)
Great Lakes	21710	20473 (-5.7)	18828 (-8.0)	17233 (-8.5)
Plains	8540	8128 (-4.8)	7694 (-5.3)	7313 (-5.0)
Southeast	6231	5991 (-3.9)	5724 (-4.5)	5335 (-6.8)
West and Far West	10910	10249 (-4.6)	9644 (-5.9)	8874 (-8.0)

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 2-3, p. 14.

of loss of religious teachers (relative to the number of schools). The relationship between availability of nuns and loyalty of patrons is not necessarily a matter of costs. As we mentioned earlier, some Catholics may be withdrawing their children from schools the nuns have left, not primarily because tuitions have increased, but because schools run almost entirely by lay teachers no longer seem distinctively Catholic.

TABLE 2/10

FULL TIME SISTERS IN CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN LOUISIANA, 1967-68 to 1970-71

Level and Area	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71
Elementary				
New Orleans	613	592 (-3.4)	556 (-6.1)	394 (-29.1)
Alexandria	111	114 (+2.7)	111 (-2.6)	111 (0.0)
Baton Rouge	123	118 (-4.1)	111 (-5.9)	93 (-16.2)
Lafayette	205	202 (-1.5)	200 (-1.0)	223 (+11.5)
Louisiana TOTAL	1,052	1,026 (-2.5)	978 (-4.7)	821 (-16.1)
Secondary				
New Orleans	253	232 (-8.3)	245 (+5.6)	171 (-30.2)
Alexandria	28	31 (+10.7)	32 (+3.2)	32 (0.0)
Baton Rouge	23	41 (+78.4)	42 (+2.4)	55 (+31.0)
Lafayette	86	79 (-8.1)	79 (0.0)	78 (- 1.3)
Louisiana TOTAL	390	383 (-1.8)	398 (+3.9)	336 (-15.6)

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Tables 2-1 and 2-2, Appendix B.

As Tables 2/11 to 2/13 suggest, and as many of our Louisiana informants have emphasized, patrons of Catholic schools in the Southeast have for years been accustomed to a larger proportion of lay teachers than have patrons of Catholic schools elsewhere. The contrast between the Southeast and New England is especially dramatic. In the fall of 1967, for example, only 26 per cent of staff members in New England's Catholic elementary schools were drawn from lay ranks, whereas the proportion was twice as high (53 per cent) in the Southeast. Similar relationships, though not quite so pronounced. are evident at the secondary level. The data reflect fairly comparable rates of change, nationally, from a greater to lesser availability of religious teachers. By the fall of 1970, the proportion of lay teachers in Catholic schools had grown somewhat more slowly in the Southeast than in most other areas of the country, but the proportion was still higher in the Southeast than in other areas. Trends such as these do not permit firm conclusions. As for attitudinal reactions, one could argue on the one hand that Catholics in the Southeast, having been inured to a high proportion of lay teachers in their schools, are less likely to be upset if a few nuns leave. On the other hand, it is possible that the proportion of nuns in Catholic schools is closer in the Southeast than elsewhere to some unknown level of tolerance below which pronounced patron defections will occur.

Rate of Migration to Suburbs

In our earlier work, it seemed evident that some of the decline in Catholic school enrollment was attributable to the migration of many Catholic families from central cities to suburbs in recent years.[33] If patrons of Catholic schools had remained in the central cities, where most of the needed school building had been erected earlier, the massive cost of erecting new structures in the suburbs would have been avoided to a considerable extent. Furthermore, as we noted earlier, the competitive position of Catholic (and other nonpublic schools) relative to public schools seems much more favorable in the cities than in than in the suburbs, as a rule. The figures in Table 2/14 indicate a fairly low concentration of Catholic schools in inner city locations in the Southeast as compared with the rest of the nation, but the tendency seems to be explained by a higher concentration of schools in small towns and rural areas, not in the suburbs. However, Table 2/14 does not indicate rates of movement from cities to suburbs. In the absence of more pertinent data in this regard, two observations may be instructive. We know, in terms of information discussed in chapter 3, that many new Catholic schools have been constructed in Louisiana suburbs in recent years, particularly in Greater New Orleans, to accommodate new Catholic suburbanites. But many of these suburbanites have moved in from other states, rather than from nearby cities. It is estimated that less than 25 per cent of recent population growth in the suburbs of New Orleans reflects an outmigration from the city itself. We know, further, that the Southern cities in question still reflect a "checkerboard" or "layer cake" intermingling of black and white residential areas (see chapter 3). There are few indications of the widespread abandonment by whites that is characteristic of many northern cities. It does seem plausible, then, to assume that the recent "holding power" of Catholic schools in the Southeast is to some modest but unknown extent a function of a less pronounced migration from cities to suburbs than has occurred elsewhere.

TABLE 2/11

Lay Teachers as a Percent of Total Staff in Catholic Elementary Schools in the United States, 1967 to 1970

	1967	1968	1969	1970
New England	26%	30%	34%	37%
Mideast	39	42	47	52
Great Lakes	46	50	53	58
Plains	43	46	50	53
Southeast	53	55	59	62
West & Far West	42	45	49	52
United States	41	45	49	53

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 2-9, p. 17.

TABLE 2/12

Lay Teachers as a Percent of Total Staff in Catholic Secondary Schools in the United States, 1967 to 1970

	1967	1968	1969	1970
New England	29%	31%	35%	38%
Mideast	37	40	44	46
Great Lakes	40	45	48	52
Plains	38	42	44	46
Southeast	45	47	50	54
West & Far West	39	43	47	49
United States	38	42	45	48

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 2-10, p. 17.

TABLE 2/13

Lay Teachers as a Percent of Total Staff in Catholic Schools in the United States, 1967 to 1970.

	1967	1968	1969	1970
New England	26%	30%	34%	37%
Mideast	38	41	45	50
Great Lakes	44	47	51	56
Plains	40	44	47	51
Southeast	49	52	55	60
West & Far West	40	44	47	51
United States	40	43	47	52

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 2-11, p. 18.

TABLE 2/14

Location of Catholic Schools, 1970-71

	Percentage of Schools in Inner City	Percentage of Schools in Small Town and Rural Areas	Percentage of Schools in Suburbs
ELEMENTARY			
New England	16.2	22.7	61.1
Mideast	15.2	23.5	61.3
Great Lakes	12.1	30.5	57.4
Plains	7.3	53.3	39.4
Southeast	11.8	28.8	59.4
West & Far West	15.3	25.8	58.9
SECONDARY			
New England	14.1	14.7	71.2
Mideast	11.6	15.8	72.6
Great Lakes	10.0	19.1	70.9
Plains	4.5	49.0	46.5
Southeast	8.9	21.7	69.4
West & Far West	9.8	16.9	73.3

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 3-3, Appendix C. Data on percentage of schools in suburbs were deduced from data in the other columns.

Population Growth Rates

We know that nonpublic schools in the nation as a whole have experienced enrollment losses partially as a consequence of the recent birth rate decline. A leading Louisiana demographer informs us that the same general birth rate decline is characteristic of the Southeast, and particularly of black populations in Louisiana, where a massive program of birth control education has been carried out in recent years. However, Louisiana informants insist that 1970 census data (which time has not permitted us to document) show that the rate of population growth in the Southeast in recent years has significantly exceeded national averages, largely because of the movement of many industrial firms to this region. Previously discussed evidence from Jefferson (Civil) Parish has shown how a rapid population influx apparently can stimulate many parents to patronize nonpublic schools. It is possible, then, that the unusual holding power of nonpublic schools in Louisiana in recent years is to some extent a function of a differential rate of population growth. More research is needed before any firm conclusions will be warranted in this regard.

Religious Orientations

There is considerable evidence elsewhere to indicate that the recent enrollment attrition of Catholic schools nationally is to a large extent a function of changing views concerning the nature of effective, beneficial religious education.[34] Several Catholic informants in Louisiana, including some in highly influential positions, have suggested that the current holding power of Catholic schools in the state is partly a result of a tendency for Catholics in the Southeast to take longer than Catholics elsewhere to "catch up" with the theological revolution symbolized by the Second Vatican Council. We have no directly pertinent evidence on this point, though the reaction of many Louisiana Catholics to racial desegregation in the schools (a matter discussed in chapter 3) suggests that these leaders may have a cogent point. But carefully executed attitudinal surveys along the lines of the Donovan-Madaus study in the Archdiocese of Boston are needed before firm conclusions can be drawn in this regard.[35]

Patron Ability to Pay

According to information summarized in Table 2/15, there is a slight tendency for Catholic schools in the Southeast, as compared with Catholic schools in the nation as a whole, to draw their patrons from higher income strata. The small difference seems potentially more significant when one remembers that incomes in the South are in general considerably lower than incomes elsewhere. The table may reflect some inaccuracies, for parental income data, rather than being based as a matter of policy on information from the parents themselves, were estimated by the administrators of the

TABLE 2/15

Number and Proportion of Catholic Schools Catering Predominantly to Various Strata of Parental Income, by Region

Grade Level and Region	Under $5,000		$5,000 to $9,999		$10,000 to $24,999		$25,000 or more		Total Schools Reporting Requisite Data
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
ELEMENTARY									
New England	57	11.0	387	75.0	71	13.8	1	.02	516
Mideast	182	11.6	1033	66.0	340	21.7	10	.6	1565
Great Lakes	100	6.1	1200	73.1	336	20.5	5	.3	1641
Plains	61	10.9	418	74.6	78	13.9	3	.5	560
Southeast	90	17.7	280	55.1	135	26.6	3	.6	508
West & Far West	118	16.2	444	60.9	163	22.4	4	.5	729
SECONDARY									
New England	2	1.9	69	66.3	33	31.7	0	.0	104
Mideast	5	1.6	195	62.7	105	33.8	6	1.9	311
Great Lakes	7	3.0	136	57.6	91	38.6	2	.8	236
Plains	6	7.1	58	68.2	21	24.7	0	0	85
Southeast	12	11.3	53	50.0	41	38.7	0	0	106
West & Far West	9	6.7	65	48.5	59	44.0	1	.7	134

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 3-3, Appendix C.

Percentage calculations are our own.

Catholic schools that the respective children attended (though some administrators may have decided on their own to elicit information directly from parents). Nevertheless, we think it reasonable to conclude tentatively that the relative enrollment stability of Catholic schools in the Southeast may be partially a function of a tendency to draw patrons from somewhat higher income levels. In the long run, however, this tendency may be a disadvantage, for studies elsewhere have shown that higher-income Catholics may be more susceptible to the emergent religious ideas that seem to disparage traditional church-related schooling.[36]

Summary

In summary, evidence introduced in the present chapter suggests that race-related events, to be discussed at length in chapter 3, are not the only plausible explanations for the unusual holding power of nonpublic schools in Louisiana in recent years, though we have encountered nothing in the religious and regional phenomena thus far discussed to account for the dramatic downward enrollment shift in New Orleans in 1962-63 or for the sudden increased attractiveness throughout the state of nonpublic schools in 1969-70.

Some of the resistance of Louisiana nonpublic schools to the nationally evidenced trend toward the loss of patrons may be attributable to such factors as the following, among others: special non-racial problems in the state's public schools, at least as these problems are perceived by parents; unique functions performed by a small minority of nonpublic schools, including experimental schools and schools catering largely or entirely to blacks; sub rosa local assistance extended to "segregationist academies"; a slight tendency for Catholic schools in the Southeast to draw a larger proportion of patrons from higher socio-economic levels than Catholic schools elsewhere manage to do; a reportedly higher rate of population growth; a less pronounced city-to-suburbs migration; and religious viewpoints among Catholics in the Southeast that are somewhat more conservative than the national norm. But these are merely plausible possibilities. The magnitude of their possible effects must remain purely speculative in the absence of further research.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See case study of Isidore Newman in Chapter 6.

[2] Edwin Adams Davis, Louisiana: A Narrative History (Baton Rouge: Claitor's Book Store, 1965), pp.360-61.

[3] Robert L. Crain, The Politics of School Desegregation (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1969), pp. 254-55.

[4] Regional Planning Commission for Jefferson, Orleans, and St. Bernard Parishes, Community Leaders Attitude Survey: A Summary(n.p.: The Commission, 1969).

[5] Ibid., pp. 29-30.

[6] Quoted in Ferrell Guillory, "New Orleans Schools Ten Years Later," America, August 21, 1971, p. 94.

[7] Frameworks for the Future, Vol. II: Reports on Ten Areas of Concern by Citizen Task Forces (New Orleans: Goals to Grow, 1971), p.1.

[3] Ibid., p. 8.

[9] Ibid., p. 1.

[10] Crain, op. cit., pp. 252-54.

[11] See, for instance, Peter Schrag, Village School Downtown: Boston Schools, Boston Politics (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967).

[12] John D. Donovan and George F. Madaus, Catholic Education in the Archdiocese of Boston: The Voices of the People (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: New England Catholic Education Center, 1969).

[13] Ibid. Also see Donald A. Erickson, Crisis in Illinois Nonpublic Schools (Springfield, Ill.: Elementary and Secondary Nonpublic Schools Study Commission, State of Illinois, 1971).

[14] Ian Menzies, "Boston Schools at Low Ebb," Boston Globe, March 18, 1971; Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), pp.147-150; Neal Gross, Who Runs Our Schools? (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958), pp.27-30.

[15] See Appendix B, Volume IV, Erickson and Madaus, Issues of Aid to Nonpublic Schools.

[16] See, for example, John I. Goodlad and Robert H. Anderson, "Educational Practices in Nongraded Schools: A Survey of perceptions," Elementary School Journal, 63 (Oct., 1962), 33-40; Robert H. Anderson and John I. Goodlad, "Self-Apprisal in Nongraded Schools: A Survey of Findings and Perceptions," ibid., 62 (Feb., 1962) 261-69; Joseph W. Halliwell, "A Comparison of Pupil Achievement in Graded and Nongraded Primary Classrooms," Journal of Experimental Education, 32 (Fall 1963), 59-64; Donald A. Erickson, "Change Agentry and the Nongraded Program," in Richard I. Miller, ed., The Nongraded School: Analysis and Study (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1967), pp. 59-71; John L. Goodland, M. Francis Kleinand Associates, Behind the Classroom Door (Worthington, O.: Charles A. Jones Publishing Company, 1970); Ronald Gross, "From Innovations to Alternatives: A Decade of Change in Education," Phi Delta Kappan, 52 (Sept., 1971), 22-24.

[17] Donald A. Erickson and George F. Madaus, Issues of Aid to Nonpublic Schools, Vol. III: Public Assistance Programs for Nonpublic Schools (Boston: Center for Field Research and School Services, Boston College, 1971), chapter I.

[18] Letter to William J. Dodd, State Superintendent of Public Education, Baton Rouge, La., from S. P. Marland, Jr., U.S. Commissioner of Education, dated Jan. 20, 1971: "...the state of Louisiana is not fulfilling the assurance contained in its application for assistance under Title I that it will approve only those applications submitted by local agencies that meet the requirements of Title I and the Title I regulation."

[19] See Erickson and Madaus, Issues of Aid, Vol. III, chapter I.

[20] Ibid., chapter III.

[21] Norman Dorsen, "Racial Discrimination in'Private' Schools," in Donald A. Erickson, ed., Public Controls for Nonpublic Schools (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 135-57.

[22] Hall v. St. Helena Parish School Board, 197 F. Supp. 649 (E. D. La. 1961), aff'd 368 U.S. 515 (1962).

[23] Poindexter v. Louisiana Financial Assistance Commission, 258 F. Supp. 158 (E. D. La. 1966).

[24] Dorsen, "Racial Discrimination," p. 148.

[25] Erickson and Madaus, Issues of Aid, Vol. I, chapter I.

[26] According to section 1323 of the law, "Secular subject" means any course of study in the curricula of the public schools, and shall include, but not necessarily be limited to, the teaching of mathematics, language arts, general and physical sciences, physical education, art and music, crafts, and trades, home economics, or any other course of study in the curricula of the public schools, other than those involving the teaching of religious beliefs or any form of worship of any sect or religion."

[27] Vernon A. Guidry, Jr., "Expensive Schools in La. to Receive State Money," New Orleans Times Picayune, Sept. 27, 1970.

[28] Seegers v. Parker, 241 So. ed 213 (1970).

[29] Erickson and Madaus, Issues of Aid, Vol. III, chapter III.

[30] See, for example, Robert Sherrill, Gothic Politics in the Deep South: Stars of the New Confederacy (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1968), chapter 2; and Hartnett T. Kane, Deep Delta Country (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1944) , chapter 16.

[31] Office for Educational Research, University of Notre Dame, Economic Problems of Nonpublic Schools: A Report to the President's Commission on School Finance (Notre Dame, Ind.: Notre Dame University, 1971, mimeog raphed) p. 175.

[32] It is ironic in this connection, in terms of data to be introduced in chapter 3, that female teachers from the religious orders, who have generally taken a strong pro-integration stand in Louisiana, have been withdrawing most quickly from the Archdiocese of New Orleans, whose leaders have moved most forcefully to integrate the Catholic schools, and least quickly from the Diocese of Alexandria, whose leaders seem relatively passive on the question of race.

[33] John D. Donovan, Donald A. Erickson, and George F. Madaus, The Social and the Religious Sources of the Crisis in Catholic Schools, Vol. II of Erickson and Madaus, Issues of Aid .

[34] Ibid.

[35] Donovan and Madaus, Voices of the People.

[36] Donovan, Erickson, and Madaus, Social and Religious Sources.

3. RACE - RELATED DEVELOPMENTS*

In chapter 2, we sought explanations for Louisiana's unique patterns of nonpublic school enrollment in non-racial developments having to do with religion and region. We concluded that some of those factors might partially account for the lack of an enrollment decline in nonpublic schools in Louisiana commensurate with the attrition experienced by nonpublic schools elsewhere. In weighing those religious and regional phenomena, however, we were unable to account for the dramatic loss of approximately 2,000 students in the Catholic schools of the Archdiocese of New Orleans in 1962-63 or for the sudden increased attractiveness of nonpublic schools throughout the state in 1969-70. We must now consider the possibility that race-related events in Louisiana are the major explanatory variables that we seek. In the process, we must confront several public policy issues having to do with the role nonpublic schools have played in the struggle for racial justice.

Since cursory inquiries indicate that the vast majority of nonpublic schools created in Louisiana for the apparent purpose of avoiding integrated public schools are nonCatholic, and since Catholic and nonCatholic schools in the state differ markedly with respect to types and sources of available data, the two groups will be examined separately in this chapter. We do not intend to imply, however, that all nonCatholic nonpublic schools in Louisiana are "segregationist academies," for they are not, as data introduced later will indicate.

Race and the Catholic Schools

In 1970, William D. Broderick conducted a study for the U. S. Department of State that leveled jarring charges at Catholic leaders, largely on the basis of interviews with a national sample of Catholic informants.[1] Encountering his report after virtually all of our interviews were completed, we found he had uncovered many perceptions that we turned up in Louisiana. Some of his findings and conclusions are summarized here, not because we necessarily agree with them or find them cause for rejoicing, but because they provide a useful background for analyzing events in Louisiana. Considering three categories of people in the Catholic Church--"hierarchy" (e.g., bishops, archbishops, cardinals), priests and nuns, and laymen--Broderick asked where his interviewees perceived the "thrust of leadership" on racial issues. With the exception of a handful of men, such as Cardinal Dearden of Detroit and erstwhile Auxiliary Bishop James Shannon of Minneapolis-St. Paul, few respondents saw any significant moral impetus originating in the church hierarchy in this regard. Nuns and priests, particularly in the younger ranks, were most often mentioned as exerting pressure for social justice.

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*Co-authored by George F. Lundy

The American Bishops had issued widely publicized statements on racial issues, but many Catholics, particularly Broderick's black Catholic respondents, considered these declarations rhetoric and little more, "seldom accompanied by concrete actions, and sometimes contradicted by actions taken, or not taken, at the local level."[2] The National Catholic Conference on Interracial Justice (NCCIJ), whose headquarters are in Chicago, was repeatedly mentioned as an effective force for reform. And in passages particularly pertinent to the present study, Broderick singled out two interesting sources of moral suasion in Louisiana: first: Father Albert McKnight of Lafayette, President of the Southern Cooperative Development Fund (an organization founded to help foster low-income cooperatives in the South, especially among blacks), was depicted as struggling along with little encouragement from theCatholic Church. Secondly, the forceful reaction of the Louisiana Conference of Major Superiors of Women (subsequently renamed the Louisiana Leadership Conference of Religious Women) to the use of Catholic schools by families fleeing public school desegregation in Louisiana--a matter we discuss at a later point--was described as "the most systematic positive effort I encountered toward racial integration of Catholic schools."[3]

One widely approved policy relevant to race, according to Broderick's evidence, was thepreservation of inner city Catholic schools, often at considerable diocesan expense. These schools functioned for the benefit of blacks, including many nonCatholics, in areas which white middle-class Catholics deserted years ago. Along with numerous white educators, black Catholic interviewees reported that

> the inner-city parochial school is not only providing a better academic education for blacks--at least half of whom are not Catholic--than is the public school, but it is also a more effective instrument for creating a desperately needed sense of black pride and achievement. A well-known priest in a mid-western diocese characterized the public schools in his city as "terrifyingly bad."[4]

Broderick found little general awareness of the efforts, fiscal and otherwise, that diocesan officials had exerted to keep these schools open.

A considerable ambivalence was evidenced with respect to these predominantly black or all-black Catholic schools by those who criticized the Catholic Church for failing to integrate its schools. But "largely white Catholic schools which draw their student bodies from the entire area rather than a parish" were much more universally condemned for the failure to move toward racial balance.[5] And as for the Catholic stance in most suburban churches and schools, it was "to keep the area white and in this sense to escape the problem."[6]

Church leaders faced an undeniable dilemma, Broderick acknowledged, for in no way could they avoid alienating communicants. If the clergy moved forcefully against racial injustice, they would antagonize the majority of white members, who seemed to exhibit clear racist tendencies. Since these ranks included many well-to-do Catholics, the church's ability to manage large debts incurred during the expansionist fifties and sixties might be jeopardized. If bishops and pastors temporized on the moral question, many idealistic young men and women might desert the religious orders, and the majority of black church members might defect. Up to the present, at least, the church had chosen, either deliberately or by default, to accept the latter risk. All of Broderick's black Catholic interviewees agreed that the Catholic Church in the United States was a "white racist institution."[7] As a consequence, blacks were leaving "in droves":

> There is no disagreement among black Catholics I consulted over the fact that great numbers are leaving, and that the reason is what they see as the Church's ambivalence or passivity on race. Most felt the drop-out rate is almost total; some believed it to be lower among less well-educated and lower income blacks. The most conservative estimate was that at least one-third of young blacks raised as Catholics are actively anti-Church, and that the number is growing.[8]

The Catholic Church had made the wrong choice, Broderick suggested. Since there was no way to avoid infuriating some major group, "the choice ... might appropriately be related less to possible membership or financial losses than to the consistency of the choice with the church's own teachings."[9] He may have underestimated the possibility that the church would be decimated and bankrupted in some areas of the nation by taking too forceful a stand on racial questions. Yet he acknowledged that Catholic leaders faced enormous difficulties when moving against culturally established injustices. He encountered numerous reports that priests had ignored unpopular directives from their bishops. His own impression was:

> that with respect to education on racial matters, the diocesan office can do much to set the general tone and thrust of efforts, but that effective implementation in the particular school is heavily dependent on the commitment that the religious order operating . . . it has made on the issue.[10]

The issues Broderick raises are particularly pertinent to Louisiana. As he points out, most Catholic schools in the United States have great difficulty approaching much racial balance, since so few Catholics (his estimate is 2 per cent) are black. But Louisiana, he reports, has 21 per cent of all black Catholics in the nation.[11]

Criticisms very similar to those mentioned by Broderick have been voiced repeatedly in Louisiana. We heard them often in our interviews. In August, 1971, after meeting for two days in New Orleans, the biennial convention of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice passed resolutions roundly castigating Catholic elementary and secondary schools for failing to combat racism in American society.[12] As currently structured, these schools had best be phased out, NCCIJ asserted. In his study of public school desegregation in several Southern cities, Robert L. Crain attributed the well publicized chaos and violence in New Orleans to "the failure of an elite."[13] Local leaders, he said, could have avoided most of the trouble by taking a firm early position in favor of orderly compliance with the law. He links this abdication of responsibility, in turn, partly to the absence of "the expected moral example of the Catholic Church," which had left its own schools racially segregated.[14]

The available evidence does indicate that Catholic schools in Louisiana and the rest of the Southeast have some distance to go to achieve racial justice, though we will later discuss reasons why some critics may be overlooking the complexity of the situation when interpreting data of this type.

The Research Department of the National Catholic Educational Association (NCEA) reports that 66.7 per cent of black students in Catholic elementary and secondary schools in the Southeast were enrolled in the Fall of 1970 in schools whose student bodies were from 80 to 100 per cent black.[15] This fact, NCEA suggests, "left Catholic Schools . . . somewhat behind the times," for a survey by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare had shown that only 41 percent of black public school students were equally segregated.[16]

Table 3/1 indicates that in 1970-71 only 8.6 per cent of all students in Catholic elementary schools and 11.9 per cent of all students in Catholic secondary schools in the Southeast were being educated in situations where the minority group (black or white) constituted more than 20 per cent of the total student population.[17] The Southeast seems at first glance to be doing fairly well in this respect in comparison with other regions of the country. But only in the South (particularly in Southern Louisiana), for the most part, can many black Catholics be found. Here, as a result, the Catholic schools have more opportunity than elsewhere to produce student bodies approaching racial balance. Nationally, according to Pettigrew's estimate, fewer than 7 per cent of Catholics are black.[18] Like Broderick, whom we discussed earlier, Feagan places the figure at only 2 per cent.[19] When we asked the officials of each diocese in Louisiana to provide an estimate of the proportion of their communicants who were black the resultant data were as follows:

Archdiocese of New Orleans	10.0 per cent
Diocese of Alexandria	7.5 per cent
Diocese of Baton Rouge	9.7 per cent
Diocese of Lafayette	25.0 per cent

Not surprisingly, the geographically massive Diocese of Alexandria, embracing the Baptist stronghold of northern Louisiana (see Fig. 1), comes closest to the national proportion as estimated by Pettigrew and Feagan. The Archdiocese of New Orleans and the Diocese of Baton Rouge, where blacks made up approximatley 10 per cent of the faithful, should be in a position to effectuate more racial integration in Catholic schools than is feasible nationally--that is, unless special difficulties intervene. The Diocese of Lafayette, where one Catholic out of every four is black, has the greatest opportunity in this regard, though much of the diocese consists of small towns and rural communities, where the geographic separation of blacks and white constitutes an important barrier to integration.

TABLE 3/1

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS (U.S.) BY BLACK-WHITE INTEGRATION LEVELS, 1970-71*

	ELEMENTARY						
	BLACK		MIXED	WHITE		TOTAL	
Region	ALL	MOSTLY		MOSTLY	ALL		
New England	.0%	1.1%	4.4%	20.4%	74.0%	238364	100.0%
Mideast	.9	1.1	10.8	26.3	60.9	1005304	100.0
Great Lakes	1.9	1.1	6.4	23.4	67.2	860524	100.0
Plains	.7	.3	3.2	21.1	74.6	233772	100.0
Southeast	7.8	1.5	8.6	49.5	32.6	248195	100.0
West and Far West	.6	.9	39.7	50.6	8.1	364445	100.0
United States	1.7	1.1	11.8	29.5	56.0	2950704	100.0

*Based on replies from 87.8% of the Catholic schools.

	SECONDARY						
	BLACK		MIXED	WHITE		TOTAL	
Region	ALL	MOSTLY		MOSTLY	ALL		
New England	.0%	.0%	.8%	24.1%	75.1%	74332	100.0%
Mideast	.0	.2	8.2	42.8	48.8	337124	100.0
Great Lakes	.3	.4	7.8	41.4	50.0	250022	100.0
Plains	.0	.0	2.5	39.9	57.7	61368	100.0
Southeast	4.5	.0	11.9	60.7	22.9	74118	100.0
West and Far West	.0	.0	37.3	50.4	12.3	94119	100.0
United States	.5	.2	10.5	43.0	45.9	891083	100.0

*Based on replies from 88.3% of the Catholic schools.

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 4-2, p. 40.

TABLE 3/2

PERCENTAGE OF BLACK OUT OF TOTAL U.S. CATHOLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, CATHOLIC AND NON-CATHOLIC STUDENTS, 1970-71

	Elementary			Secondary		
	Catholic Students	Non-Catholic Students	Total	Catholic Students	Non-Catholic Students	Total
New England	1.0	51.0	2.6	0.7	20.2	1.2
Mideast	3.6	59.5	4.8	2.9	33.5	3.4
Great Lakes	3.0	56.2	4.8	3.1	47.5	4.2
Plains	1.3	45.8	1.9	0.9	16.8	1.4
Southeast	8.9	50.5	13.0	7.5	25.1	9.3
West & Far West	3.6	36.1	4.9	2.4	10.9	2.9

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Appendix D, Table 4-1.

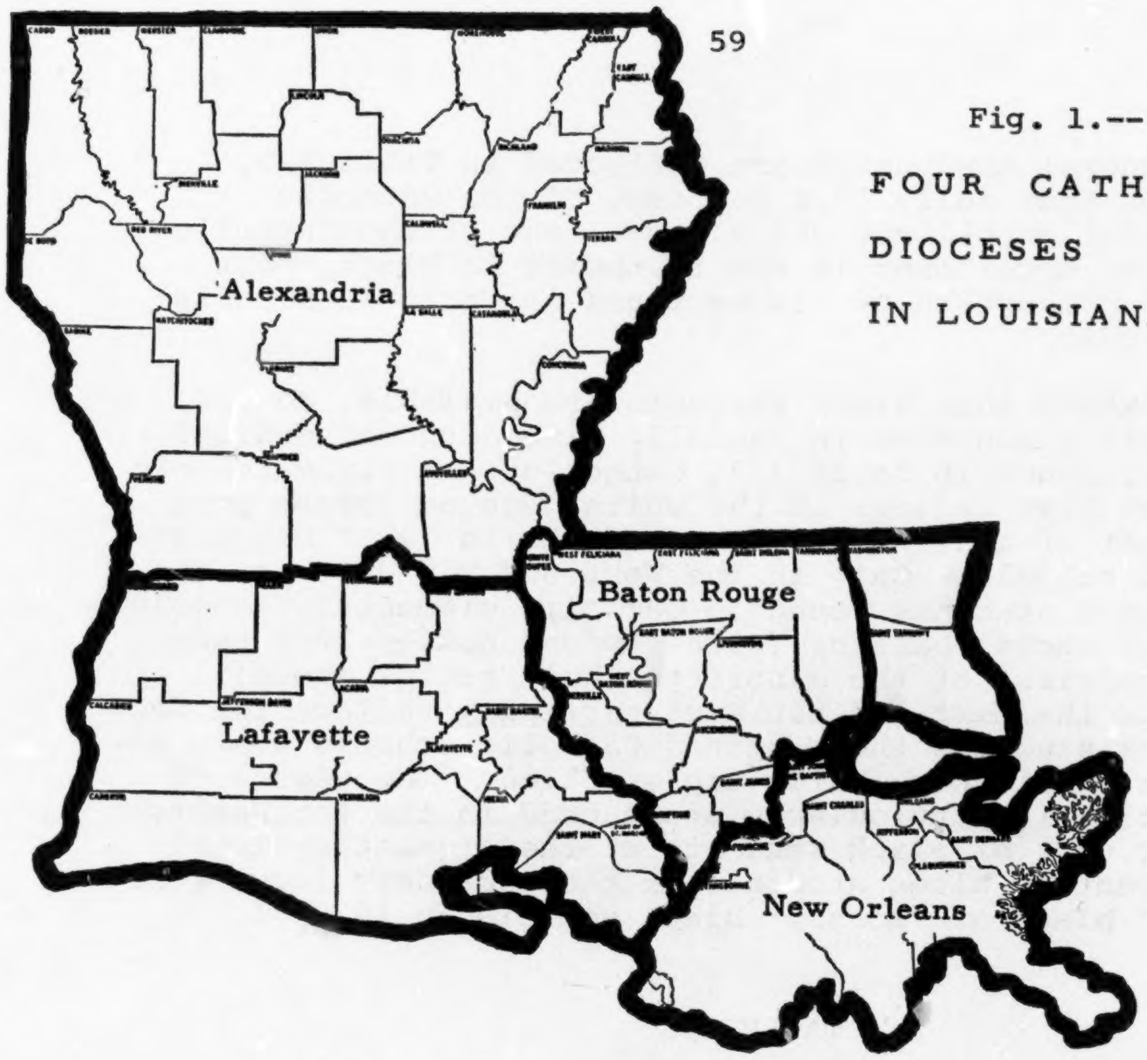

Fig. 1.--
FOUR CATHOLIC
DIOCESES
IN LOUISIANA

LIST OF PARISHES IN EACH CATHOLIC DIOCESE

Alexandria Diocese

1. Avoyelles
2. Bienville
3. Bossier
4. Caddo
5. Caldwell
6. Catahoula
7. Claiborne
8. Concordia
9. DeSoto
10. East Carroll
11. Franklin
12. Grant
13. Jackson
14. LaSalle
15. Lincoln
16. Madison
17. Morehouse
18. Natchitoches
19. Ouachita
20. Rapides
21. Red River
22. Richland
23. Sabine
24. Tensas
25. Union
26. Vernon
27. Webster
28. West Carroll
29. Winn

Lafayette Diocese

1. Acadia
2. Allen
3. Beauregard
4. Calcasieu
5. Cameron
6. Evangeline
7. Iberia
8. Jefferson Davis
9. Lafayette
10. St. Landry
11. St. Martin
12. St. Mary*
13. Vermilion

New Orleans Diocese

1. Jefferson
2. Lafourche
3. Orleans
4. Plaquemines
5. St. Bernard
6. St. Charles
7. St. John
8. St. Mary*
9. St. Tammany
10. Terrebonne
11. Washington

Baton Rouge Diocese

1. Ascension
2. Assumption
3. East Baton Rouge
4. East Feliciana
5. Iberville
6. Livingston
7. Pointe Coupee
8. St. Helena
9. St. James
10. Tangipahoa
11. West Baton Rouge
12. West Feliciana

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*The portion of the parish east of the Atchafalaya River is in the New Orleans Diocese and the portion west of the Atchafalaya River is in the Lafayette Diocese.

These general tendencies are reflected in Table 3/2, which indicates that fully 13.0 per cent of the Catholic elementary school enrollment and 9.3 per cent of the Catholic secondary school enrollment in the Southeast is black, more than twice the proportion of blacks found in Catholic schools in any other region.

To the extent that black students are available, do the Catholic schools place them in racially mixed student bodies? According to evidence in Table 3/3, Catholic elementary schools in three out of five regions in the United States locate more than 50 per cent of available black students in "all" black or "mostly" black schools. Only in the West and Far West are the majority of black students found in Catholic elementary schools with modicum of racial balance (with student bodies less than 80 per cent comprised of the minority ethnic/racial group). The figures for the West and Far West partially reflect the fact that many black students there attend Catholic schools where numerous Spanish American children are enrolled. The degree of racial separation is particularly pronounced in the Southeast, where 70.8 per cent of black students at the elementary level and 48.1 per cent of black students at the secondary level were found in "all" black or "mostly" black schools in 1970-71.

TABLE 3/3

DISTRIBUTION BY BLACK-WHITE INTEGRATION LEVELS OF BLACK STUDENTS IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS (U.S.)

REGION	ELEMENTARY						
	BLACK		MIXED	WHITE		TOTAL	
	ALL	MOSTLY		MOSTLY	ALL		
New England	.0%	38.2%	31.0%	25.2%	5.6%	6311	100.0%
Mideast	19.4	20.6	42.9	14.8	2.3	48123	100.0
Great Lakes	39.3	21.6	26.2	11.6	1.3	41615	100.0
Plains	35.2	16.6	22.6	21.6	4.0	4428	100.0
Southeast	60.0	10.8	13.2	15.4	.8	32163	100.0
West and Far West	13.1	16.2	60.9	9.7	.2	17918	100.0
United States	32.4	18.9	33.0	14.1	1.6	150558	100.0

REGION	SECONDARY						
	BLACK		MIXED	WHITE		TOTAL	
	ALL	MOSTLY		MOSTLY	ALL		
New England	1.9%	.0%	7.0%	61.3%	29.8%	875	100.0%
Mideast	.0	5.9	43.1	44.8	6.2	11506	100.0
Great Lakes	7.7	8.9	43.0	35.6	4.8	10396	100.0
Plains	.0	.0	31.5	61.7	6.8	854	100.0
Southeast	48.1	.0	18.9	31.5	1.6	6880	100.0
West and Far West	.0	.0	63.0	35.4	1.6	2776	100.0
United States	12.4	4.8	38.5	39.3	5.1	33287	100.0

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 4-3, p. 41.

According to Table 3/4, Louisiana Catholic schools have even less to be proud about in these particulars than have Catholic schools in the Southeast as a whole. Whereas 8.6 per cent of all elementary school students and 11.9 per cent of all secondary school students in the Catholic schools of the Southeast in 1970-71 were in student bodies with a modicum of racial balance (the minority group comprising more than 20 per cent of the student population), the figure drops in Louisiana, even in the dioceses with unusual proportions of black Catholics available. The Archdiocese of Baton Rouge makes a particularly poor showing in the light of the proportion (9.7 per cent) of its communicants who are black. Worse still, the Diocese of Lafayette, 25 per cent of whose Catholics are black, managed to place not a single student in a "mixed" Catholic school in 1970-71. As a point of comparison, 26 per cent of all white students and 32 per cent of all black students in Louisiana public schools were in "heavily" desegregated schools in 1970-71--that is, schools with at least 30 per cent of whatever race was in the minority.[20] It must be reemphasized, lest misleading conclusions be drawn from comparisons of this type, that public schools have much larger proportions of black students to "work with" in achieving integration.

The record of Catholic schools in Louisiana as a whole is also mediocre at best, in relationship to the Southeast, when one examines the extent to which the available black students are placed in schools approaching significant racial balance--especially at the secondary level, where the Southeast has 13.2 per cent of black Catholic school students in racially "mixed" schools (see the NCEA definition of "mixed" provided earlier), but the Archdiocese of New Orleans places only 8.1 per cent of black students in this category, and the other four dioceses in the state make no showing whatsoever. At the elementary level, the Archdiocese of New Orleans and the Diocese of Baton Rouge appear, on the basis of these data in isolation, to be making some effort, at least, while figures from the other two dioceses, particularly the Diocese of Lafayette, raise serious questions as to the existence of significant moral "push." However, these indications must be regarded as tentative until situations are examined in more depth, diocese by diocese.

According to Table 3/6, the nonCatholic black student has even less chance than the Catholic black student of attending a racially balanced Catholic school in the Southeast. Conversely, when nonCatholic white students in the Southeast are attracted

TABLE 3/4

DISTRIBUTION OF ALL STUDENTS (BLACK AND WHITE) IN LOUISIANA CATHOLIC SCHOOLS BY BLACK-WHITE INTEGRATION LEVELS, 1970-71

Grade Level And Diocese	LEVEL OF INTEGRATION											
	BLACK				MIXED		WHITE				TOTAL	
	ALL		MOSTLY				MOSTLY		ALL			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Elementary												
New Orleans	4,973	9.5	806	1.5	4,281	8.2	25,121	48.0	17,143	32.8	52,324	100.
Alexandria	1,097	14.2	0	1.0	511	6.6	3,742	48.3	2,390	30.9	7,740	100.
Baton Rouge	261	2.3	249	2.2	298	2.6	5,888	51.9	4,645	41.0	11,341	100.
Lafayette	3,600	22.8	135	0.9	0	0.0	4,232	26.8	7,835	49.6	15,802	100.
Secondary												
New Orleans	1,575	8.1	0	0.0	657	3.4	14,683	75.2	2,602	13.3	1,9517	100.
Alexandria	278	18.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	1,236	81.6	0	0.0	1,514	100.
Baton Rouge	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2,304	100.0	0	0.0	2,304	100.
Lafayette	606	12.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	2,320	46.2	2100	41.8	5,026	100.

Source: Data from the NCEA Data Bank, provided in response to our request by Rev. George Elford, Director of Research, National Catholic Educational Association, Washington, D.C.

TABLE 3/5

DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK STUDENTS IN LOUISIANA CATHOLIC SCHOOLS BY BLACK-WHITE INTEGRATION LEVELS, 1970-71

Grade Level And Diocese	LEVEL OF INTEGRATION											
	BLACK				MIXED		WHITE				TOTAL	
	ALL		MOSTLY				MOSTLY		ALL			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Elementary												
New Orleans	4958	61.1	751	9.3	1562	19.3	781	9.6	59	0.7	8,111	100.
Alexandria	1097	86.0	0	0.0	44	3.4	122	9.6	13	1.0	1,276	100.
Baton Rouge	261	28.4	232	25.2	121	13.2	285	31.0	20	2.2	919	100.
Lafayette	598	89.4	128	3.2	0	0.0	254	6.3	44	1.1	4,024	100.
Secondary												
New Orleans	1575	70.1	0	0.0	181	8.1	474	21.1	16	0.7	2,246	100.
Alexandria	277	78.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	74	21.1	0	0.0	351	100.
Baton Rouge	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	120	100.0	0	0.0	120	100.
Lafayette	605	79.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	135	17.8	20	2.6	760	100.

Source: Data from the NCEA Data Bank, provided in response to our request by Rev. George Elford, Director of Research, National Catholic Educational Association, Washington, D.C.

to Catholic education, less than 10 percent of them gravitate to racially balanced schools; rather, they congregate to a dramatic degree in "all" white or "mostly" white situations (see Table 3/7). In the latter respect, the situation is somewhat less heartening in Louisiana than in the Southeast as a whole (see Table 3/8). When nonCatholic white students are attracted to Catholic education in Louisiana, they have a pronounced tendency to enter "all" or "mostly" white schools. The Diocese of Lafayette has the least impressive record in this regard, with all of its nonCatholic white students, elementary and secondary, in "all" or "mostly" white schools in 1970-71.

TABLE 3/6

DISTRIBUTION BY MINORITY* GROUPS/WHITE INTEGRATION LEVELS OF NON-CATHOLIC MINORITY* GROUP STUDENTS IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS, 1970-1971

	ELEMENTARY						
	ALL MINORITY		MIXED	WHITE		TOTAL	
REGION	ALL	MOSTLY		MOSTLY	ALL		
New England	2.6%	50.1%	23.5%	20.7%	3.1%	4272	100.0%
Mideast	26.1	24.7	33.3	14.1	1.9	14115	100.0
Great Lakes	53.1	15.3	22.0	8.7	.9	17078	100.0
Plains	42.4	20.2	21.1	13.8	2.5	1737	100.0
Southeast	59.0	17.6	10.6	12.2	.6	12406	100.0
West and Far West	30.7	29.9	31.1	8.8	.2	7276	100.0
United States	40.7	22.7	23.6	11.9	1.2	56886	100.0

	SECONDARY						
	ALL MINORITY		MIXED	WHITE		TOTAL	
REGION	ALL	MOSTLY		MOSTLY	ALL		
New England	4.2%	.0%	4.2%	59.5%	32.2%	385	100.0%
Mideast	.8	7.4	34.3	47.5	10.0	1982	100.0
Great Lakes	10.7	15.5	33.5	36.8	3.4	2907	100.0
Plains	22.1	.8	27.9	44.7	4.5	398	100.0
Southeast	50.6	.0	17.8	30.4	1.2	1902	100.0
West and Far West	.0	6.1	69.1	23.8	1.0	1611	100.0
United States	15.2	7.6	35.2	36.8	5.2	9185	100.0

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*In the Southeast, "minority group" may be equated, for all practical purposes, with "black."

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 4-7, p. 45.

TABLE 3/7

DISTRIBUTION BY MINROITY* GROUPS/WHITE INTEGRATION LEVELS OF NON-CATHOLIC WHITE STUDENTS IN U.S. CATHOLIC SCHOOLS, 1970-1971

	ELEMENTARY						
	ALL MINORITY		MIXED	WHITE		TOTAL	
REGION	ALL	MOSTLY		MOSTLY	ALL		
New England	.1%	.2%	3.8%	28.5%	67.5%	3767	100.0%
Mideast	.1	1.6	13.2	40.1	45.1	7877	100.0
Great Lakes	.1	.5	10.1	14.4	74.9	12004	100.0
Plains	.1	.4	6.4	35.1	58.0	1584	100.0
Southeast	.1	.7	8.4	68.8	22.1	11757	100.0
West and Far West	.1	3.9	35.1	54.1	6.8	6961	100.0
United States	.1	1.2	13.5	41.8	43.4	43950	100.0

	SECONDARY						
	ALL MINORITY		MIXED	WHITE		TOTAL	
REGION	ALL	MOSTLY		MOSTLY	ALL		
New England	.0%	.0%	.2%	20.1%	79.7%	1418%	100.0%
Mideast	.0	.4	5.2	53.2	41.2	3521	100.0
Great Lakes	.0	.2	15.3	57.2	27.3	2889	100.0
Plains	.1	.2	3.9	33.2	62.7	1322	100.0
Southeast	.0	.1	6.1	79.3	14.5	5563	100.0
West and Far West	.0	.5	30.1	60.9	8.5	4437	100.0
United States	.0	.3	12.3	59.3	28.1	19150	100.0

*In the Southeast, "minority" may be equated, for all practical purposes with "black."

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Table 4-8, pp. 45-46.

TABLE 3/8

DISTRIBUTION OF NON-CATHOLIC WHITE STUDENTS IN LOUISIANA CATHOLIC SCHOOLS BY MINORITY GROUPS/WHITE INTEGRATION LEVELS, 1970-71

Grade Level And Diocese	LEVEL OF INTEGRATION											
	MINORITY GROUPS				MIXED		WHITE				TOTAL	
	ALL		MOSTLY				MOSTLY		ALL			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Elementary												
New Orleans	0	0.0	2	0.2	64	6.0	811	66.5	292	27.3	1069	100.
Alexandria	0	0.0	0	0.0	69	6.9	675	67.7	253	25.4	997	100.
Baton Rouge	0	0.0	2	1.8	8	7.1	49	43.8	53	47.3	112	100.
Lafayette	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	97	59.1	67	40.9	164	100.
Secondary												
New Orleans	0	0.0	0	0.0	16	3.6	385	86.3	45	10.1	446	100.
Alexandria	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	364	100.0	0	0.0	364	100.
Baton Rouge	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	18	100.0	0	0.0	18	100.
Lafayette	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	58	78.4	16	21.6	74	100.

Source: Data from the NCEA Data Bank, provided in response to our request by Rev. George Elford, Director of Research, National Catholic Educational Association, Washington, D.C.

It may be interesting at this point to consider the extent to which the Catholic schools of Louisiana are accessible to black Catholics, as compared with white Catholics (see Table 3/9). If diocesan leaders think Catholic schools offer important benefits, one reflection of concern for black people may be the steps these leaders take to ensure that Catholic schools serve an equitable porportion of black students. As a possible approach to assessing "equitable proportion," Table 3/9 provides the ratio of (a) the proportion of students who are black to (b) the proportion of communicants who are black. A ratio greater than 1 suggests that the Catholic schools in a given diocese are serving more black students than the racial composition of the faithful in the diocese would lead one to expect. A ratio smaller than 1 suggests that the Catholic schools are either neglecting potential black students or for some reason are less attractive to blacks than to whites. From this standpoint, the Diocese of Alexandria seems to be doing the best job in the state, while the Diocese of Baton Rouge is doing the worst job. On the other hand, a high ratio in Table 3/9 is not necessarily the best of all possible indications, for data introduced later will suggest that the record of the Alexandria Diocese in this regard may have resulted in part from the lack of much effort to integrate the Catholic schools. As we shall repeatedly observe, one hazard encountered in Catholic school integration is that a disproportionate number of black students will shift to the public schools, partly because of the prejudice they encounter in integrated Catholic schools, partly because they are often inconvenienced or insulted by the manner in which the integration is effected, and partly for financial reasons. Or as an alternative explanation for the high ratio in the Diocese of Alexandria, perhaps many blacks, Catholic and nonCatholic, are attracted to the Catholic schools because of the prejudice or inadequate instruction they encounter in the public schools of the area. Questions of this type deserve more extensive study. The more one examines race-related issues in the Catholic schools of Louisiana, the more complex the issues seem to become.

TABLE 3/9

PROPORTION OF BLACK STUDENTS IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTHEAST AND FOUR LOUISIANA DIOCESES, 1970-71

Grade Level and Region or Diocese	(a) Proportion of Blacks in Total Student Population	(b) Proportion of Blacks in Total Church Membership	Ratio of (a) to (b)
Southeast U.S.			
Elementary	13.0	unknown	unknown
Secondary	9.3	unknown	unknown
New Orleans Archdiocese			
Elementary	15.5	10.0	1.6
Secondary	11.5	10.0	1.2
Alexandria Diocese			
Elementary	16.5	7.5	2.2
Secondary	23.2	7.5	3.1
Baton Rouge Diocese			
Elementary	8.1	9.7	0.8
Secondary	5.2	9.7	0.5
Lafayette Diocese			
Elementary	25.5	25.0	1.0
Secondary	15.1	25.0	0.6

Source: Data drawn from, or computed on the basis of, Tables 3/2, 3/4, and 3/5, plus data (column b) introduced earlier in the text of this chapter.

Table 3/10 provides some provocative comparisons among schools in the Southeast categorized by levels of integration. The most costly elementary schools, in terms of total per-pupil expenditures, average salary of lay teachers, income from tuition and fees, and subsidies from the parish and/or diocese are the "mostly" white elementary schools. "All minority" and"mostly minority" elementary schools tend to be considerably less costly on all four counts. The "mixed" schools fall in between in most respects. Part of the explanation for differential costs lies in the differential ratios of religious to lay teachers, shown in the table, which reflect a growing recent, well-publicized unwillingness of teaching nuns to contribute their services to "all" white or "mostly" white schools, and the commitment of these nuns to blacks in the Southeast. There is a much higher ratio of religious to lay teachers in "all" black schools (1.12) than in "all"white schools (0.52). But therein lies a major dilemma for the Catholic church. The desire of teaching nuns to help black people (who are found mostly in "all" or "mostly" black schools) does much to produce the differential school costs that make "all"or "mostly" white schools financially inaccessible to blacks and thus does much to help to perpetuate racial segregation.

The "all" or "mostly" white Catholic elementary schools have a marked tendency to be located either in suburbs or in the small towns and rural areas of the countryside, whereas the "all" minority and "mixed" schools are much less often found in suburbs. These tendencies point up the likelihood that racial imbalance in Catholic schools is geographically reinforced by the relative scarcity of blacks in the suburbs and perhaps by the sheer spacial separation of blacks and whites in more rural areas. Most of the above-mentioned patterns are also exhibited by Catholic secondary schools, though less consistently.

However, 36 per cent of the "all" white schools in the Southeast are in rural areas, presumably servicing the white rural poor. It would be interesting to know the ratio of religious to lay teachers in these rural "all" white schools. It may be that the higher ratios in "all" black schools are maintained at the expense of equally poor rural white schools. Given the available data, we are merely speculating, but the possibilities in question merit further investigation. Commitment to one public by the Church obviously has alternative costs relative to other publics, but little is known concerning the nature and extent of these trade-offs.

With rare exceptions, such as the Diocese of Lafayette at the secondary level, the same patterns apply in Louisiana: Per-pupil tuition and fee income, per-pupil subsidies from

TABLE 3/10

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTHEAST RELATED TO INTEGRATION LEVELS

	Per-pupil Tuition & Fee Income	Per-pupil Subsidies Parish &/or Diocese	Total Per-pupil Expenditure	Average Salary Lay Teachers	Ratio of Religious to Lay Teachers	(a) Percent of Schools in Inner City	(b) Percent of Small Town and Rural Areas	Percent of Schools in Suburbs (100 minus a & b)
Elementary Schools:								
All minority	88.34	34.93	160.49	3,784.60	1.12	40.0	27.8	32.2
Mostly minority	75.25	44.57	180.56	4,668.09	1.07	25.0	35.0	40.0
Mixed	116.38	55.90	205.84	4,436.21	.77	28.8	25.4	45.8
Mostly white	139.98	74.29	233.11	4,916.40	.64	8.4	24.8	66.8
All white	98.34	84.49	207.68	4,651.52	.52	1.2	35.7	63.1
Secondary Schools:								
All minority	318.90	90.23	482.33	6,471.32	.85	11.8	32.4	55.8
Mostly minority	297.00	170.75	481.43	6,116.43	1.88	0.0	0.0	100.0
Mixed	354.00	36.73	497.97	6,460.50	1.48	0.0	12.5	87.5
Mostly white	359.25	77.60	526.28	7,274.11	.75	9.7	19.4	70.9
All white	311.59	70.88	473.13	7,801.62	.95	6.8	20.5	72.7

Source: NCEA Report, 1970-71, Tables 4-12, 4-13, Appendix D.

parish and/or diocesan sources, and total per-pupil expenditure levels are almost always highest in the "mostly" white schools and almost always lowest in the "all" minority schools (in this case, schools that are all black or virtually so; see Table 3/11). The "mixed" schools, as in the Southeast as a whole, fall in between.

In New Orleans the difference in average tuition between "all" black and "all" white schools is $35.00 (it was $10 for the Southeast region, as shown in Table 3/10). The comparable differences in the dioceses of Alexandria, Baton Rouge, and Lafayette are $78, $27, and $91, respectively. Total per-pupil expenditures in the "all" black schools are also lower than in the "all" white schools across the four dioceses. The ratio of religious to lay in the "all" black schools in Louisiana is even higher than is the case for the Southeast region in general. Thus one could argue that in Louisiana the effort of religious communities in "all" black schools is stronger than is the case regionally and that this emphatic commitment of religious personnel to "all" black schools in Louisiana is itself a factor driving the cost of education in "all" white schools beyond the means of many black parents. Not enough nuns are available to subsidize both groups of schools significantly at the same time. It is also predictable that when predominantly black schools are "paired" with predominantly white schools, most black parents will experience an increase in costs, while most white patrons will experience a decrease in costs.[21] There are other important considerations when integration is attempted, of course, many of which will be discussed later.

The proportion of "all" white Catholic schools in rural areas is higher in the four dioceses of Louisiana than it is for the Southeast in general. In the state, as in the region in general, the nature and extent of the alternative costs of committing "low cost" personnel to all black schools is unknown but undoubtedly real so far as poor rural whites are concerned.

In summary, it appears that the Catholic Church in Louisiana is caught in an interesting dilemma. When the religious communities, perhaps reacting to what they perceive as a lack of concern by a diocese itself for black education, concentrate their personnel in "all" black schools, this very action may drive up the costs in "all" white schools, making them less attractive to black clientele. At the same time, while suburban white schools may be able to absorb the costs inherent in losing the contributed services of nuns, the rural white schools -- given the already regressive nature of Church financing -- may be caught in an obvious and vicious financial bind. One resolution to the problem is a diocese-wide, equitable distribution of both funds and personnel, coupled with a strongly enforced

TABLE 3/11

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN LOUISIANA RELATED TO INTEGRATION LEVELS

Grade Level, Diocese, and Integration Level		Per-pupil Tuition and Fee Income	Per-pupil Subsidies: Parish and/or Diocese	Total Per-pupil Expenditure	Volumes in Library	Average Salary, Lay Teachers	Ratio of Religious to Lay Teachers	Percent of Schools in Inner City	Percent of Schools in Small Towns, Rural	Percent of Schools Suburban	TOTAL SCHOOLS
Elementary:											
New Orleans	All minority	95.54	38.62	152.81	11.4	3439.55	1.21	64.3	7.1	28.6	14
	Mostly minority	94.66	78.15	178.49	14.8	3621.33	.60	50.0	25.0	25.0	4
	Mixed	127.16	49.59	189.87	12.3	3613.99	.56	54.5	9.1	36.4	11
	Mostly white	152.29	45.66	227.46	9.7	4115.50	.37	20.0	24.0	56.0	50
	All white	130.97	42.37	176.77	5.6	4034.20	.29	.0	42.9	57.1	28
Alexandria	All minority	22.20	30.99	97.60	25.2	2375.00	1.35	33.3	33.3	33.4	6
	Mostly minority	.00	.00	.00	.0	.00	.00	.0	.0	0.0	0
	Mixed	52.92	181.60	117.73	10.4	3234.29	1.57	.0	100.0	0.0	3
	Mostly white	226.92	71.83	187.64	13.2	6246.87	.33	15.4	38.5	46.1	13
	All white	100.12	25.67	147.64	10.4	3700.72	.65	.0	37.5	62.5	8
Baton Rouge	All minority	113.74	.00	129.35	11.6	4100.00	1.00	.0	100.0	0.0	1
	Mostly minority	102.41	80.32	182.73	.1	3000.00	1.20	.0	.0	100.0	1
	Mixed	125.13	40.27	173.40	19.6	3532.00	.30	100.0	.0	0.0	1
	Mostly white	163.39	38.64	250.33	13.1	4182.42	.43	7.1	57.1	35.8	14
	All white	140.07	44.02	186.08	6.1	3784.21	.27	.0	55.6	44.4	9
Lafayette	All minority	58.73	27.44	96.44	8.8	2833.12	1.35	.0	73.3	26.7	15
	Mostly minority	30.36	50.90	83.49	.0	1417.50	2.00	.0	100.0	0.0	1
	Mixed	.00	.00	.00	.0	.00	.00	.0	.0	0.0	0
	Mostly white	189.63	39.38	217.07	14.4	4292.62	.46	8.3	58.3	33.4	12
	All white	169.56	42.42	175.79	23.5	4125.92	.40	.0	80.0	20.0	20

Source: Data from the NCEA Data Bank, provided in response to our request by Rev. George Elford, Director of Research, National Catholic Educational Association, Washington, D.C. Exception: percentage of suburban schools was deduced (by us) from figures in the preceding two columns.

TABLE 3/12

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF CATHOLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN LOUISIANA RELATED TO INTEGRATION LEVELS

Grade Level, Diocese, and Integration Level		Per-pupil Tuition and Fee Income	Per-pupil Subsidies: Parish and/or Diocese	Total Per-pupil Expenditure	Volumes in Library	Average Salary, Lay Teachers	Ratio of Religious to Lay Teachers	Percent of Schools in Inner City	Percent of Schools in Small Towns, Rural	Percent of Schools Suburban	TOTAL SCHOOLS
Secondary:											
New Orleans	All minority	232.38	19.05	520.74	13.6	7777.94	1.07	33.3	.0	66.7	9
	Mostly minority	.00	.00	.00	.0	.00	.00	.0	.0	0.0	0
	Mixed	351.45	8.37	506.93	45.7	4739.91	1.00	33.3	.0	66.7	3
	Mostly white	449.79	15.99	519.82	14.9	8002.54	.68	7.7	30.8	61.5	26
	All white	536.83	28.66	587.33	4.4	8688.72	.41	.0	50.0	50.0	4
Alexandria	All minority	116.19	15.11	156.86	17.9	3616.67	1.29	50.0	.0	50.0	2
	Mostly minority	.00	.00	.00	.0	.00	.00	.0	.0	0.0	0
	Mixed	.00	.00	.00	.0	.00	.00	.0	.0	0.0	0
	Mostly white	401.53	81.88	422.69	23.8	6000.81	.77	.0	.0	100.0	4
	All white	.00	.00	.00	.0	.00	.00	.0	.0	0.0	0
Baton Rouge	All minority	.00	.00	.00	.0	.00	.00	.0	.0	0.0	0
	Mostly minority	.00	.00	.00	.0	.00	.00	.0	.0	0.0	0
	Mixed	.00	.00	.00	.0	.00	.00	.0	.0	0.0	0
	Mostly white	205.30	84.25	525.54	21.2	7780.73	.72	.0	28.6	71.4	7
	All white	.00	.00	.00	.0	.00	.00	.0	.0	0.0	0
Lafayette	All minority	278.25	33.00	842.05	79.6	3665.00	1.60	.0	66.7	33.3	3
	Mostly minority	.00	.00	.00	.0	.00	.00	.0	.0	0.0	0
	Mixed	.00	.00	.00	.0	.00	.00	.0	.0	0.0	0
	Mostly white	191.25	77.74	428.89	12.2	6408.05	.42	.0	75.0	25.0	8
	All white	195.95	20.24	579.01	23.1	6834.04	.67	.0	42.9	57.1	7

Source: Data from the NCEA Data Bank, provided in response to our request by Rev. George Elford, Director of Research, National Catholic Educational Association, Washington, D.C. Exception: percentage of suburban schools was deduced (by us) from figures in the preceding two columns.

policy of open enrollment across all schools. However, this plan has built-in problems. It assumes that a diocese may count on the cooperation of religious communities in the assignment of personnel, and it would probably meet stiff opposition from the very white publics whose financial and moral support are essential.

The meaning of the previously discussed data is further complicated by historical developments and by current realities yet to be mentioned. One is on uncertain ground, for example, when claiming or implying that racism, to the extent that it may exist in Louisiana and the Southeast, is a Catholic phenomenon. If a region is racist in certain particulars and Catholics who comprise part of the population share the tendency, is not the phenomenon regional rather than Catholic? And to what extent is the Catholic Church responsible for people who attend its services and partake in its sacraments while rejecting its moral position? In precise terms, what is the meaning of an assertion that "the Catholic Church is racist?"

There is dubious logic as well in the conclusion, at least when drawn without close examination of the circumstances, that leaders who fail to inhibit the apparently racist policies of their followers are abdicating moral responsibility. There are major fallacies in the "great man theory," which attributes to officially designated leaders much power to alter the course of events. Bridges suggests, for example, that the administrator is more often a "pawn" than an "origin" in decision making -- more often, as a matter of necessity, he responds to the initiatives of his "followers" rather than providing the initiatives that his position seems to imply.[22] Or in the words of one of the best-known students of organizational behavior, "In a very real sense, the leader, or the superior, is merely a bus driver whose passengers will leave him unless he takes them in the direction they wish to go. They leave him only minor discretion as to the road to be followed."[23] Some efforts to exercise "strong leadership" merely backfire.

We will argue at a number of points, furthermore, that there is little rationality in imputing racism to all parents who try to avoid integrated public schools. In some instances, desegregation is badly managed, violence occurs, children are threatened, discipline breaks down in classrooms and hallways, instruction is disrupted, and there are few discernible prospects for improvement. Under these circumstances, even a parent who sees great value in racially heterogeneous schooling may decide that the advantages are far outweighed by the stress and deprivation his child is undergoing. And sometimes integrated schools are inferior for reasons unrelated to race.

To consider some pertinent historical roots of the complex racial situation in Louisiana: The creation of dual institutional arrangements in the Southeast is obviously a regional, not a Catholic, phenomenon.[24] In fact as Labbé points out, the Catholic church was slow to follow the example of southern Protestant denominations, which created entirely separate structures for blacks, and when the Catholic Church finally did move toward dualistic parish arrangements, they were more limited in scope.[25] She attributes these differences to Roman Catholic canon law, which specifies that "all Catholics within the geographical boundaries of a diocese are subject to the jurisdiction of the same bishop."[26] It seems likely to us that the limited separatism toward which the Catholic Church in Louisiana moved was the result, rather, of unawareness that exceptions to the above-quoted canon requirement are possible--as is evidenced in the case of Ukranian Catholics.

At any rate, Catholic churches in Louisiana remained integrated during Reconstruction, in contrast to the Protestant denominations in the same area. The first black parish was created in New Orleans in 1895, largely as an experiment. It was given the same status as the "national" parishes in the North that were established in large numbers for the benefit of recently arrived immigrants of various ethnic origins. Communicants were free to attend either the existing "territorial" parishes(which by canon law were open to all Catholics living within stated geographical boundaries) or these special "national" or "personal" parishes.

Negative attitudes toward blacks were hardening in the South, and the movement toward a dual parish system developed quickly.

> By 1900 missionaries were recruited to work exclusively with blacks in two rural areas of the [New Orleans] archdiocese [which at the time included all of southern Louisiana] and several years later segregated parishes were established rapidly in many parts of the archdiocese. By 1918 when the new diocese of Lafayette was founded in Southwest Louisiana, segregated parishes were considered both normal and permanent and Negro Catholics were expected to attend them.[27]

The creation of separate Negro parishes coincided rather closely with Jim Crow legislation in Louisiana. The concept of separate parishes for black and white Catholics apparently was envisioned by Archbishop Janssens as a way of freeing black communicants from the restrictions and antagonism they encountered increasingly in churches controlled by whites. His concern was partly generated by apparently inaccurate figures suggesting that many blacks were deserting the Catholic church. They were probably deserting, Janssens reasoned, because of their demeaning, passive role in available Catholic churches. Given churches of their own, they could sit where they wished (rather than in special pews at the side or the rear designated for "colored"), could establish and join their own parish organizations, could sing in the choir, could assist in ceremonies, and could train their sons to be altar boys. The experiment was resisted for a time by black people who still hoped to improve their status in Louisiana, especially a large group of former "free people of color" in New Orleans, for they saw it as retrogression. But increasing racial tensions were determinative. All-black parishes were created repeatedly over the decades, including two in the Diocese of Lafayette only eleven years ago, in 1961!

As a general policy, Archbishop Janssens and his successors assigned responsibility for black parishes to religious orders serving blacks exclusively. The priests in these parishes were white, however, because a few attempts to recruit blacks to the priesthood during that era were quickly stifled. However, a community of black nuns, the Sisters of the Holy Family, was established in New Orleans as early as 1842. Among priestly orders serving black parishes, the Josephites (more formally known as the Society of St. Joseph) and Holy Ghost Fathers (the Congregation of the Holy Ghost and the Immaculate Heart of Mary) were predominant. Without the dedication of these men many black Catholics might have been deprived of important ecclesiastical and educational ministrations. It is still very common, we are informed, for black Catholics to evidence strong loyalties toward the Josephites, the Holy Ghost Fathers, and the parishes they established.

A regional residential tendency is critical in this regard: Unlike the typical northern metropolis, Louisiana cities have never been characterized by massive Negro ghettos (see Fig. 3/2). In these Southern cities, there was (and to a considerable extent, still is) a marble-cake or checker-board intermingling of black and white homesites, a carry-over from the era of slavery when masters wanted their servants nearby, where they would be handy. When the slaves were emancipated, they often remained in their old quarters. Ironically, recent efforts to desegregate Southern schools may tend to segregate Southern neighborhoods, for some whiteswho tolerated the familiar black families who lived on the next block seem unwilling to countenance integration in the schools, and not always for racist reasons. It is paradoxical as well that federal "urban renewal" programs appear to encourage urban decay in cities like New Orleans, for federally guaranteed loans are available to help finance suburban construction, but not to rehabilitate charming old urban structures (including the long, narrow "gingerbread" duplexes that are so common in New Orleans), no matter how structurally sound.

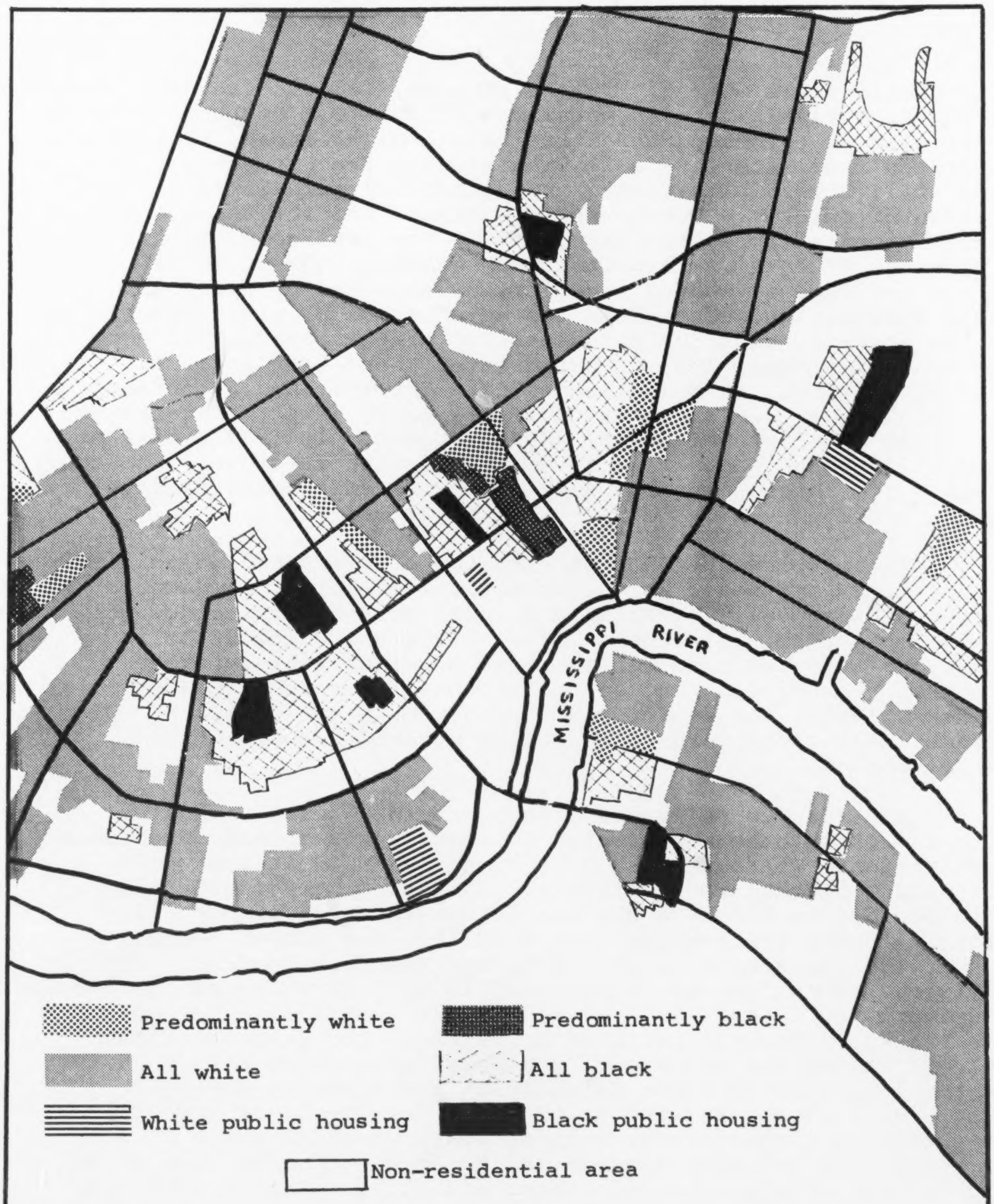
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
Predominantly white
Predominantly black
All white
All black
White public housing
Black public housing
Non-residential area

Fig. 2.--Map of Residential Patterns in New Orleans

Many families are moving. In the process, the old racially mixed residential marble-cake is metamorphosing into a Northern-variety layer-cake as reflected in extensive all-black areas, spatially separated from extensive all-white areas. The process is perhaps still reversible if more humane federal guidelines can be instituted quickly. Our tours were brief, and our resultant information is impressionistic, but we are convinced, after seeing New Orleans' astounding, long-standing admixture of modest and expensive dwellings, often inhabited by black and white families whose children can be observed playing together in the streets, that the potential for stable residential and educational integration is much greater there than in most northern cities. In New Orleans, Lake Charles, and Baton Rouge, the black individuals encountered in a newly integrated setting are often familiar neighbors, not strange people from a distant, violent ghetto. Along with several Louisiana informants, however, we have the impression that federal courts and administrative agencies are generally bungling the opportunity.

The marble-cake interpenetration of black and white homesites, when combined with ecclesiastical Jim Crow, produced a curious parish policy. Black and white church territories were not geographically distinct. Often black and white Catholic neighbors attended churches so close together that separate hymns of brotherhood mingled contrapuntally on the sidewalk. In New Orleans, for example, St. Katharine's served black parishioners a few yards down Tulane Street from all-white St. Joseph's.

After a few religious orders provided black Catholics with churches, others attempted to rectify widespread educational deprivation. There are still rural areas in Louisiana where most older blacks are illiterate. Catherine Drexel of Philadelphia decided to become a nun and devote the rest of her life, along with the fortune she inherited from her famous banker father, to the schooling of blacks and American Indians. The religious community she established in 1891 (Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Colored People) established schools for blacks in several parts of Louisiana. The Sisters of the Holy Ghost and the Sisters of the Holy Family also became active in the education of black Catholics. For example, the Holy Family Sisters established St. Mary's Academy in New Orleans to provide a Catholic education to black Catholic girls at a time when the Ursuline Academy in the French Quarter (the first high school anywhere in the state) was still refusing admission to non-whites. The Josephite fathers, while concentrating primarily on making churches available to blacks, occasionally became involved in schools. St. Augustine High School, an all-black Catholic institution for boys in New Orleans that is renowned for academic prowess, was once operated and almost exclusively staffed by Josephites.[28] At present its principal is a black Catholic layman, and Josephite teachers are a minority on the staff, but the order still provides subsidies to keep the school from collapsing. The third all-black high school in New Orleans (in addition to St. Mary's and St. Augustine) is St. Francis Xavier.

As Labbé aptly observes, Archbishop Janssens' experiment of the 1890's "has become the dilemma of the 1970's".[29] In later passages we will examine criticism relating to the perpetuation of all-white or mostly white Catholic schools, some of which have permitted a dramatic influx of nonCatholic white students at the moment of public school desegregation. At the present point, however, the enigmatic all-black Catholic school, found in significant numbers in Louisiana, must be scrutinized.

Should all-black Catholic schools be maintained? Many blacks display deep loyalty to these schools that helped them and their fathers when public education for blacks was a travesty. Corpus Christi Elementary School and St. Augustine's High School in New Orleans, for example, were attended by many blacks who became prominent leaders and still reportedly credit these two schools for much of their success. Now that integrated public schools are more generally available, blacks are more ambivalent toward all-black Catholic schools, but much loyalty remains, as later discussions will demonstrate.

A dramatic illustration is presented in the case of St. Augustine's High School in New Orleans.

St. Aug's High: An All-Black High School*

St. Aug's (St. Augustine's) High School in New Orleans was built in 1951 by the Archdiocese of New Orleans at a cost of $359,000.00. Administered by the Josephite Fathers it was the first Catholic high school exclusively for Negro boys in the city.

Presently St. Aug's enrolls 740 students in grades 8 through 12 and is staffed by a faculty of 12 religious and 23 lay teachers. The school is financed by a subsidy from the Josephite Fathers plus their contributed services. The only other major income source is from a tuition fee of $600.00 per year adjusted in some cases on the basis of limited parental ability to pay and/or more than one son in attendance.

St. Aug's is one of the prides of the New Orleans black community. It numbers among its graduates some of the area's more successful Negro professional and businessmen. Its academic standards are high and it actively recruits the superior black students in the

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* This section is a condensed and revised version of a case study prepared by Miss Barbara Rose (New Orleans, La.).

> local elementary schools. Indeed, subtle and not so subtle pressures seem to be used to guarantee that these students enroll at St. Aug's rather than at other integrated Catholic and public schools. Transfer students are not accepted after the 10th grade and there has been no serious effort made to recruit white students. The St. Aug's student has a relatively high I.Q. (Average score about 100.0), has done well academically in elementary school, is strongly motivated to attend college, and can pay. And he is black.
>
> The student clientele able to meet these requirements do not represent a cross-section of New Orleans' black community. They are non-ghetto residents in a ratio of almost 4 to 1; on the basis of 473 student reports only 13% of their parents have less than a high school education while 63% and 24% respectively have high school and college backgrounds; they are the sons of integrated (81%) rather than separated (19%) families; and the average family income is $6,600. Relatively few of their fathers hold professional jobs but in 102 cases a parent is employed by the U. S. Post Office Department. St. Aug's students are clearly the bright and ambitious sons of mobile, middle-class black parents. St. Aug's is their escalator to college and to a career. Moreover, it is an escalator with a good track record and one in which the students are "spared" the strains of white prejudice and discrimination. Partial evidence of this appears in the fact that three out of every four of St. Aug's graduates go on to college and a significant proportion have been cited as merit scholars in national and regional competitions.
>
> The "success" story of this all-black Catholic school is not without its cost. Academic pressure, tight discipline, homogeneous groupings, and the absence of any white students have their dysfunctional as well as their functional values. But in the eyes of some Church leaders, the school principal, and some parents it is a success which, right now at least, should not be endangered by integration.

Diocesan leaders have discovered over the last two or three years that when schools are closed, merged, or "paired" in such a way as to send students from all-black schools to integrated schools, many black students soon withdraw from the Catholic system, and sometimes their parents become sufficiently alienated to leave the Catholic church. Some observers attribute these losses primarily to the fact that the integrated Catholic schools to which black youngsters have access after these closures, mergers, and "pairings" often charge much higher tuitions than the erstwhile black schools had charged--in keeping with evidence introduced earlier. If not predominant, this fiscal factor is at least significant. In some areas, as we shall see, the all-black Catholic school seems to be the most significant element holding the community together and providing a degree of hope.

Since racial prejudice is far from dead in Louisiana, many black youngsters encounter hostility in newly integrated Catholic schools. Many decide, along with their parents, that the psychological tension outweighs the advantages of a Catholic education. Most public schools are integrated or integrating, but it is not unusual for nuns and priests to claim that Catholics in some areas of Louisiana are somewhat more racist than Protestants--especially, for example, in "Cajun country." Black informants, while acknowledging the prejudice of white students as a factor, place more stress on the manner in which closures, mergings, and pairings are generally effectuated. When numerous Catholic schools were erected in the suburbs of New Orleans during the sixties, they point out, much of the construction was financed by the diocese as a whole, partly through assessments levied on poor black parishes (in terms of an "ability-to-pay" formula), yet the archdiocese has permitted some black schools to close primarily for financial reasons, without using the same principle of diocesan financing to provide fiscal assistance. Reportedly many black Catholics have been embittered by this apparent inconsistency. But the financial status of the archdiocese has deteriorated in intervening years, particularly in the light of increasing school costs, so one must acknowledge that subsidies are probably more difficult to provide at the present time. Subsidies are currently provided to some black Catholic schools, however, and numerous black leaders seem to view the current archbishop as supportive of their aspirations.

Some black Catholics claim that they are dealt with in a patronizing or demeaning way when black and white schools are merged or paired. An illustrative confrontation in Baton Rouge will be discussed later. In fact, several rather recent developments support the allegation of black leaders that, when black and white Catholic schools in the state are merged or paired, most of the available advantages usually (though not always) go to the patrons of the white school. If one of the schools is closed, it is almost always the black school, usually (but not always) because the facilities in the white school are superior. If any administrators or teachers must lose positions, black people are usually selected to make the sacrifice. Consultations leading up to the merger or pairing often exclude or minimuze inputs from the black community. After the merger or pairing, it is usually the black students who are in the minority, attending on strange territory, and vulnerable to prejudice. But in these respects, again, arguments may be raised in defense of diocesan officials. Since whites flee the presence of blacks much oftener than blacks flee the presence of whites, leaders who attempt to merge or pair black and white schools are likely to worry more about the white reaction than about the black reaction. White attitudes became particularly crucial. One wonders, in this regard, how many Catholic school pairings and mergers would succeed in the nation's current social climate if whites were asked to attend schools administered by blacks, attended primarily by blacks, and located on black turf.

The best arrangement for some time to come, in the eyes of some black leaders in Louisiana, is to have two options available to blacks: integrated schools and black schools. When a child attends an all-black school by choice, these leaders emphasize, the situation is not comparable to segregation by compulsion. And for some children, it may be desirable to provide racially integrated schooling at some levels and a racially segregated education at others. Perhaps all-black schools, where the black experience and identity can be given particular stress, may be necessary to the emergence of strong leaders for the black community in the future. Or so it is often argued. Another strategy, apparently gaining adherents in Louisiana, is to improve the all-black schools and attempt to attract whites into them. It will not easily be done.

While the issues and trends discussed thus far apply generally throughout Louisiana, important distinctions must be made from diocese to diocese, for different challenges arise, different traditions prevail, and different diocesan policies are operative. The Archdiocese of New Orleans and the Diocese of Lafayette are traditional Catholic strongholds, but they differ in important respects. Lafayette has a much higher proportion of black Catholics (25 per cent as opposed to 10 per cent in New Orleans). Lafayette is distinguished by a large concentration of "Cajuns," who by reputation, at least, are unusually prejudiced against blacks. The Baton Rouge diocese lacks the strong Catholic roots of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, but this difference is fading as the percentage of Catholics in New Orleans continues to decline. The Diocese of Alexandria covers a massive, rather sparsely populated territory, traditionally Baptistic and anti-Catholic, that has more in common culturally with Arkansas, Alabama, and Mississippi than with southern Louisiana. In recent decades, New Orleans seems to have had more than its share of "liberal" prelates, though

Bishop Tracy of Baton Rouge, the newest diocese in the state, has acquired some national repute in recent years as a spokesman against racial prejudice. We encountered no tendency for the other two bishops in the state to be described in similar terms. While northern Louisiana lends itself to cotton growing and general farming, furthermore, in the territories covered by the three southern dioceses, fruit, rice, and sugar cane are raised rather extensively, and the swamps filling the delta and lining the gulf westward bristle, between bayous, with oil wells and petro-chemical plants. In parts of the oil-rich swamps, one senses an exploitive neo-colonialism. Lavish installations tower skyward every few miles--white cities drawing riches from the earth--but little wealth is reflected in the shacks and low-cost homes that squat nearby.

At this point we turn to an examination of race-related events in each of the four Catholic dioceses of Louisiana.

Developments in the Archdiocese of New Orleans

To discuss racial issues in the Archdiocese of New Orleans is inevitably to consider at some point the character of the late Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel. Informants who worked with him closely for many years, including his personal secretary and immediate chancery subordinates, describe him with consistency and affection rarely encountered in interviews. It is unlikely that these individuals, now persons of accomplishment in their own right, were badly misled by the man's charm. (As the saying goes, "No man is a hero to his valet.") We are inclined to conclude, then, on the basis of these interviews, a tape-recording of one of Rummel's informal discussions with friends, the prelate's letters, and his recorded behavior in several situations, that he was, indeed, possessed of singular intelligence, serenity, and charisma. He was endlessly challenged by the enigmas of leadership. He was at war with racism, his confidants insist, from the moment he arrived in New Orleans. The question was not whether to fight it, but how. On the one hand, he knew, there was the danger of too much compromise with the local culture. On the other hand, if he moved too fast or indiscreetly, he might weaken the church for decades and negate his own influence.

Among major religious and secular leaders in Louisiana, in fact, Rummel probably must be acknowledged as the first to launch a frontal attack on racial segregation. In 1949, he ordered signs designating separate "black" and "white" pews removed from all churches in the archdiocese, though for a long time afterward, his close colleagues report, he continued to be shocked by these signs on occasion, when making his rounds among the parishes. While encouraging black Catholics to maintain loyalty to their own black churches during those early years, he insisted that pastors of white churches must welcome blacks whenever they attended or applied for membership in parish organizations. In 1950, he summarily cancelled a parade when black Catholics were denied entrée to a Holy Name rally, and demanded that the archdiocesan chapter of the National Council of Catholic Men and Women henceforth be integrated. In 1953, the archbishop banned all forms of racial discrimination in churches, missions, and parish organizations, at the same time predicting that state and federal courts would one day rule against established laws and customs with respect to race.[30] When the Supreme Court's landmark decision against "separate but equal" public schools was announced in 1954, Archbishop Rummel stated that the Catholic schools would be soon integrated, though not until careful preparations had been made. In reaction to the Court's decision and Rummel's statement, a group of Louisiana legislators, including numerous Catholics, drafted three bills requiring *all* schools in the state, whether public or nonpublic, to continue to be racially segregated. One provision declared, "No free school books or other school supplies shall be furnished, nor shall any state funds for the operation of school lunch programs, or any school funds be furnished or given to any elementary or secondary school which may violate the provisions of this act as above." Financially hardpressed black Catholics, whom the Archbishop hoped to help by integrating the schools, would suffer more than anyone else if these state benefits were lost. The bills were soon passed, but only after nonpublic schools had been exempted from the provisions. However, the threat to withdraw aid from children in nonpublic schools was held over the archbishop's head for many years in an attempt to deter him from integrating the Catholic system. In a statement issued on July 7, 1954, Rummel asserted that the bills in question, "notwithstanding the exemption of parochial and private schools . . . are still objectionable because they . . . were conceived in an atmosphere of hate, prejudice, and controversy, and conflict with the Federal Constitution as interpreted by the U. S. Supreme Court." Significantly, many years were to pass before major secular leaders in the New Orleans area were willing to make even timorous public statements favoring racial integration.[31]

During the latter half of 1954, M. F. Everett, editor of *Catholic Action of the South*, the official weekly of the archdiocese, published hard-hitting attacks on racial prejudice under such titles as "Prejudice is Exposed as Mental Blindness," "Color is Accidental, Not Basic Quality," "Segregation Exacts Heavy Cost in U.S.," and "Law of Love Must Extend to All Men." In one of these broadsides ("Mores or Moral Law," published on July 8, 1954), he compared Southern patterns of racial segregation to a number of obviously harmful customs in various nations of the world. He suffered much verbal abuse as a consequence.

In February, 1956, Federal District Judge Skelly Wright ruled that the public schools of New Orleans would have to be desegregated. On the following Sunday, Archbishop Rummel's pastoral letter detailed several reasons why "racial segregation as such is morally wrong and sinful." The prelate said he was making plans to desegregate Catholic schools, but "there are still many vital circumstances which require further study and consideration if our decision is to be based upon wisdom, prudence and the genuine spiritual welfare of all concerned." A few priests in the archdiocese refused to read the letter from their pulpits, some read it while indicating their disapproval, and a few hours later a cross was burned on the archbishop's lawn. Four Catholic legislators launched another counterattack, proposing legislation to outlaw integration in Catholic schools. In an editorial in the archdiocesan newspaper, all four were threatened with excommunication. They apparently desisted soon afterward. Another group of segregationists, led by Emile Wagner (who later did much to help create difficulties attending public school integration) formed a local Association of Catholic Laymen, without the archbishop's knowledge or permission, and announced in the newspapers that they were seeking 20,000 members to help fight integration. After consulting the group, the archbishop characterized their efforts as a threat to church unity and warned that they were liable to excommunication. They persisted to the point of asking the Pope to over-rule Rummel's recent moves and were roundly rebuked in the Vatican's response.

During the summer of 1956, in a tape-recorded informal discussion made available to us, Archbishop Rummel revealed that he intended to desegregate the Catholic schools, discussed at some length the deep-seated prejudices that stood in the way, and confided that he would probably have to proceed gradually, to maximize the chances of succeeding. Black children had quietly been admitted to white Catholic schools in scattered instances, but intense prejudice was still evident in some areas of the archdiocese. The prelate had closed a mission church in Plaquemines (Civil) Parish, for example, when the communicants refused to permit a black priest to say mass, even on a single occasion, when no other priest was available. Pastors and nuns had been harrassed and interrupted when teaching catechism to black and white children together. On July 31 of that year (1956), Rummel announced the basic outlines of his plan:

> "1. Our declaration against racial segregation . . . on February 11, 1956, still holds true as a guide of Catholic conduct. . . .

> 2. Certain difficulties still remain and we are not now prepared to introduce integration generally; therefore, we deem it necessary to postpone integration in schools in which it has not yet been effected at least until September 1957. In the meantime we hope to overcome difficulties and make necessary preparations.
>
> 3. Integration will be organized gradually in one grade at a time of our elementary schools, and under moderate conditions which will be made known in advance.
>
> 4. Catholic schools which are now integrated are expected to follow their present plans without interruption.
>
> 5. During the year our Catholic attitude will be further explained in all patience and charity to remove doubts, misunderstandings and other difficulties."

The plan was blasted by the Citizens' Council of New Orleans, which asserted in a statement "being made in the name of God's justice and with Christian charity for all" that actions must obviously be taken to place all schools "under the protection of segregation laws."

Three years later, in the fall of 1959, no action had yet been taken to activate the archbishop's "one-grade-per-year" desegregation plan! The prelate stated at that point that the Catholic schools would be integrated no later than the public schools, but he still made no overt move. When a major meeting to plan for integration was held in June of 1960, no public announcement resulted. In the fall of 1960, when the chaotic desegregation of the New Orleans public schools was about to begin, Rummel did not, as he had predicted, take action to integrate the Catholic schools no later than the public schools. He issued a pastoral letter urging support of public school desegregation, but with respect to Catholic schools, merely observed: "For the present the statement of these basic truths [concerning racial justice] should suffice for prayerful reflection. When school integration can take place the issue will receive consideration of a more practical nature." It was not until March 27, 1962, that all Catholic schools in the archdiocese were ordered to admit students for the coming school year without respect to race.

Why this long delay, especially in the light of the fact that Rummel's policies up to 1956 or so were far ahead of the times? We are told that many black Catholics were disillusioned as a result of promises repeatedly made and deferred during those years. One prominent black informant comments that the archbishop first declared racial segregation to be sinful, then decided to stop sinning very gradually, and finally concluded that he could not stop sinning at all--at least until the atmosphere became more favorable.

Two or three men close to Archbishop Rummel repeatedly urged him to proceed more rapidly against racial segregation in Catholic schools. Typically, his response was to state that they did not realize what drastic consequences would ensue. Who knows whether the prelate was too cautious? In analyzing conditions then existing in New Orleans, Crane suggests that since, in his view, Catholic schools in several other Southern cities had been desegregated virtually with the sweep of an episcopal pen, the same possibility was open to Rummel.[32] Generalizations of this kind are dubious political science, especially since Crain himself documents the furor that New Orleans Catholics, among others, raised over the introduction of four little black girls into white public schools on November 14, 1960. Public school board members were harrassed through such devices as organized phone calls from two to four a.m., to the point of being fearful for their lives. According to Crain, one board member said old friends would furtively whisper words of encouragement when passing him in church, but dared not speak out publicly against the lawlessness. Mobs raged through the streets hurling bottles and bricks. The New Orleans police condoned outrageous extremes. The state legislature passed a host of obstructing bills. School teachers and administrators went unpaid for many weeks. Repeatedly it appeared that the public schools might be discarded altogether. White children who dared attend the two token-integrated schools were cursed, stoned, and spat upon, along with their parents. Some citizens who resisted the madness lost their jobs. Others soon found their businesses in ruins.

The effects on tourism and other local industry were virtually catastrophic. Two years later, even after residents of the archdiocese had been somewhat conditioned to school desegregation, the decision to integrate the Catholic schools sparked a serious rebellion within the church. Led by Jackson G. Ricau, Mrs. B. J. Galot, and arch-segregationist Leander Perez, all three of whom eventually were excommunicated, a group attempted, it seems clear, to organize a mass withdrawal of financial support from Catholic churches throughout the diocese, and approximately two thousand white youngsters immediately deserted the Catholic schools. Rummel had been warned repeatedly that a rebellion might occur. From time to time over the years, influential Catholics urged him not to split the church by desegregating her schools, and vowed to "cut off his water" if he did. In the light of these facts, we think it ridiculous to assert that a lonely archbishop, surrounded by many segregationist priests and parishioners who participated in the anarchy of 1962, would successfully have desegregated the Catholic schools much earlier, had he only found the courage to try. We disagree, furthermore, with Crain's suggestion that Rummel was as guilty as other New Orleans leaders of the moral timidity that made possible the chaos surrounding the desegregation of the public schools.[33] As we noted earlier, he had acted forcefully (along with such other Catholics as the editor of the archdiocesan newspaper) long before civic officials dared admit publicly that racial segregation might be doomed--let alone immoral.

It should probably be emphasized at this juncture that public and Catholic leaders, when attempting to desegregate schools in the face of deep-rooted opposition, must reckon with dissimilar realities. Relationships between church leaders and the people without whom Catholic schools cannot survive are much more voluntaristic than is generally recognized. This is no medieval church whose threat of damnation makes strong men tremble. Within a given parish, Catholic parents are free to send their children or withdraw them. Parishioners may give or withhold the necessary donations. Abetted by a tradition of drastic decentralization, pastors, principals, and teachers often find it easy to sabotage, unobtrusively but effectively, policies that an archbishop thinks he has established. One must remember, in this connection, that Archbishop Rummel was unable to marshal much support from his pastors, principals, teachers, chancery staff, or leading laymen. He had swept his pen repeatedly--indeed, eloquently--but little happened as a consequence. Much that he outlawed continued to persist.

Perhaps, then, Rummel's long postponement of promised desegregation was the result of his awareness of how local Catholics would react. We doubt that this is the full explanation. He was partially check-mated, his former confidants report, by a tendency to place too much confidence in his priests. As a major part of his strategy, he had attempted to inspire parish-level initiative, so his momentum was lost when most pastors defended the status quo. They had fought him on other issues as well, not merely desegregation. Some, for example, enjoying the financial support of large businessmen and plantation owners, had opposed his pro-union activities in earlier years.

More important still, perhaps, when the Catholic schools were finally desegregated the prelate was in his eighties, blind and infirm, far too aged for violent swordplay. Twice he had attempted to resign and let a younger man take over. Twice in preceding years he had been near death, given the final rites of the church. On one of these occasions, some Louisiana legislators pushed their way into his hospital room and persuaded him to postpone further the desegregation he planned. In October of 1960, after he fractured an arm and ankle, the archdiocesan decision-making apparatus was incapacitated for months, for his subordinates hesitated to initiate far-reaching moves. Finally, in November, 1961, the Vatican dispatched John Patrick Cody (now Cardinal Cody of the Archdiocese of Chicago) to New Orleans to take charge of the archdiocese, as Coadjutor Archbishop. (Rummel retained the titular headship until 1963 and died in 1964.) In fact, the decision in 1962 to desegregate all grades in all Catholic schools in the archdiocese was Cody's, though announced over Rummel's signature. When it was argued that a grade-by-grade approach would be more prudent, Cody answered, "Why cut off a cat's tail an inch at a time?"

As one further possible explanation of the fact that the Catholic schools remained almost entirely segregated until 1962, one commentator suggests that Rummel was deterred by the repeated threat of the legislature to withdraw all financial benefits from Catholic school students.[34] According to this theory, it was only after the Kennedy administration wrung concessions from Louisiana lawmakers in return for behind-the-scenes promises concerning tideland oil rights in 1962, that the threat was withdrawn and the archbishop could proceed.

Cody was more decisive than Rummel in this regard, according to numerous observers, though one must weigh that observation against the fact that circumstances had changed in the meantime. As we observed earlier, the inevitability of at least token desegregation had been demonstrated, at least in the public schools. Some informants describe Cody as autocratic, a man who brushed aside subordinates in an effort to get things done. At one meeting where school integration was planned, a priest objected, "We will lose state-provided textbooks!" "Then we will buy textbooks!" said Cody. "We will lose free transportation!" the priest continued. "Then we will buy buses!" said Cody. A nun who argued at length that the archdiocese was not yet ready for integration received a polite response from the prelate, but was soon quietly transferred to another post.

Though we have been unable to obtain firm figures concerning the amount of racial integration achieved in Catholic schools in 1962-63 and the years immediately following, numerous informants insist that it was "token only." It has been alleged, further, that Cody inadvertently did much to ensure that racial balance would never be achieved, for he launched a major construction program, partly financed by the archdiocese as a whole, to provide new schools in the predominantly white suburbs, thus augmenting the proportion of Catholic schools with few black students or none at all. Between 1963 and 1968, the Archdiocese of New Orleans opened seventeen new schools, eleven within the New Orleans metropolitan area. One of these is in the city itself, near Lake Pontchartrain, where new residential areas were developing at the time. Most of these schools were located in solidly white, middle-income suburban neighborhoods. By 1968, the eleven schools had a total enrollment of 6,261 students, exclusively white. By 1971-72 the enrollment of these schools had risen to 6,985, including only 4 non-white students. During the Cody era, in addition, some new white churches reportedly were erected where churches once officially "integrated" by Rummel had plenty of empty pews to offer. (Archbishop Rummel's pronouncements in this regard produced little discernible impact on the latter churches.) "It was like a slap in the face!" one black nun declares.

Housing patterns in suburban areas like Jefferson (Civil) Parish are not of the Southern-city variety described earlier, where black and white areas still interpenetrate, to a considerable extent, in a checkerboard or marble-cake pattern. It is extremely difficult in the suburbs, then, to achieve much racial integration in schools without extensive busing (which the Jefferson Parish public schools have begun doing in 1971-72 under court order). In 1968-69, 16 out of 27 elementary Catholic schools (59.3 per cent) in Jefferson (Civil) Parish had not a single black student enrolled, whereas the proportion in the City of New Orleans was 7 schools out of 53 (13.2 per cent). There has been more rapid progress in the city than in the suburban civil parish in this regard, for while whites have been moving from the city to the suburb, blacks have been moving to the city from rural areas of the South. In 1971-72, only 3 Catholic elementary schools out of 58 in New Orleans itself (5.2 per cent) are completely without black students, whereas in Jefferson (Civil) Parish the proportion is 14 out of 27 (51.9 per cent). If we look at schools in which less than 10 per cent of students are black, a similar contrast between city and suburb emerges. Both in 1968-69 and in 1971-72, 25 out of 27 Catholic elementary schools in Jefferson (Civil) Parish (92.6 per cent) had enrollments less than 10 per cent black. In New Orleans the proportions were 26 out of 53 (49.1 per cent) in 1968-69 and 23 out of 58 (39.7 per cent) in 1971-72. In Jefferson (Civil) Parish, 4 out of 5 Catholic high schools (80 per cent) had less than 10 per cent blacks in their student bodies in 1968-69, and 5 out of 6 (83.3 per cent) of the CAtholic high schools were similarly situated in 1971-72. In New Orleans itself, 16 out of 21 high schools (76.2 per cent) in 1968-69 and 15 out of 20 high schools (75 per cent) in 1971-72 had student bodies less than 10 per cent black.

These contrasts may largely be explained, of course, by the fact that the city has a much larger proportion of black Catholic students available than has the suburb. Racial discrimination in the sale of suburban homes is well known in the North and the South. Furthermore, a smaller proportion of blacks than of whites can afford to purchase these homes when they are available. In New Orleans, the proportion of Catholic elementary students who were black was 26.9 per cent in 1968-69 and 38.1 per cent in 1971-72. In Jefferson (Civil) Parish, the corresponding proportions were 1.3 per cent in 1968-69 and 1.4 per cent in 1971-72. Similarly, in New Orleans the proportion of Catholic secondary school students who were black was 16.8 per cent in 1968-69 and 17.9 per cent in 1971-72, whereas the corresponding proportions in Jefferson (Civil) Parish were 2.1 per cent in 1968-69 and 1.6 per cent in 1971-72. In the Archdiocese of New Orleans as a whole, as we noted earlier, 15.5 per cent of Catholic elementary school students and 11.5 per cent of Catholic secondary school students were black in 1970-71. As of 1971-72, the proportions have risen to 16.3 per cent at the elementary level and 12.0 per cent at the secondary level.

Should Cody be censured for building so many new Catholic schools in areas where racial integration would be very difficult to achieve? Between 1950 and 1960, according to the New Orleans City Planning Commission, there was a net "out-migration" of 41,017 persons from the City of New Orleans.[35] Most people leaving the city were whites. There is no way of determining, however, how much of this "white-flight" was sparked by racial intolerance. The city planning commission attributes the population loss largely to the fact that, while new residential subdivisions were being made available outside city boundaries, there was relatively little construction in the city itself, where most available land was swampy and therefore expensive to use. Comfortable homes, in neighborhoods congenial to the rearing of children, were much less costly in the suburbs than in the city, as a rule. There is some logic in the commission's argument, for now that more construction is occurring within the city (landfill is being trucked in to the swampy areas), the population of New Orleans seems to be growing again. On the other hand, real estate developers are usually shrewd enough to find out what communities are attractive to prospective buyers.

Some people may have been leaving the city partly out of disenchantment with urban public schools, in keeping with a pattern evident in many other parts of the nation, though as we noted earlier, the Jefferson (Civil) Parish public schools are perhaps in as much trouble as the New Orleans city schools. In addition, some families may have deserted the city of New Orleans to improve their economic status through employment in the relatively few new industries that have located in nearby suburbs in recent years. Some moved because FHA loans were available for suburban construction, but not for the renovation of many residential structures that are common in New Orleans.

At any rate, Catholics were part of the city-to-suburbs migration. Others moved in, not from New Orleans, but from other parts of the nation. Often they found themselves in areas without Catholic schools. If the archbishop believed in the religious efficacy of Catholic education and was concerned about the spiritual welfare of his people, it would have been difficult for him to refuse to help provide new schools in the suburbs in response to their requests. He had little reason to view all these people as racists.

Some additional contrasts between city and suburbs appear when one looks at Catholic schools that are all-black or virtually so. In recent years, at least, suburban Jefferson (Civil) Parish has had not a single Catholic school of this type. In the City of New Orleans, 9 out of 53 Catholic elementary schools (17.0 per cent) in 1968-69 and 13 out of 58 Catholic elementary schools (22.4 per cent) in 1971-72 were exclusively black. For Catholic high schools, the corresponding figures in New Orleans are 2 out of 21 (9.5 per cent) in 1968-69 and 3 out of 20 (15.0 per cent) in 1971-72. As for schools whose student bodies are less than 10 per cent white, Jefferson (Civil) Parish has had none of these either. But in New Orleans, 13 out of 53 Catholic elementary schools (24.5 per cent) and 3 out of 21 Catholic secondary schools (14.3) per cent were more than 90 per cent black in 1968-69, and 16 out of 58 Catholic elementary schools (27.6 per cent) and 3 out of 20 Catholic secondary schools (15.0 per cent) were more than 90 per cent black in 1971-72. Clearly, it is much more difficult to attract whites into schools that are all-black or predominantly black than it is to introduce blacks into schools that are all-white or predominantly white.

Earlier in this chapter, we identified a number of complex issues relating to the continuance of all-black Catholic schools. To illuminate these questions we devoted attention to several all-black Catholic schools in New Orleans. Another dimension is provided in the following condensation of a case study which describes an attempt to increase the interest and the learning skills of black children by innovative techniques.

Educational Innovation in Catholic Elementary Schools*

The special learning problems of New Orleans' culturally and educationally deprived black children have been recently addressed by Sister Grace Pilon's "Workshop Way." The philosophy and the techniques of this educational innovation are described elsewhere in this report, especially in the case study which constitutes Chapter 7. Here we concentrate on a description of parental and teacher attitudes toward the Workshop Way based on its utilization in three (3) all-black Catholic elementary schools in New Orleans. The description is based on field observations and a survey of attitudes in all three schools.

The three schools here studied are St. Philip the Apostle, St. David, and Holy Ghost. Each school is affiliated with a black Catholic parish and each is located in blighted sections of New Orleans' inner city. St. Philip's Parish, for example, services black Catholics in the Desire/Florida Project, a public housing development with a population of 38,384 persons, 84% black. It is an area of extreme poverty in which 39% of the families are headed by females and in which a high degree of functional illiteracy helps to explain a 10% unemployment rate. The areas of St. David's Parish and Holy Ghost Parish are "better" but only in a relative sense. The former is an area of low cost single and two-family dwellings which were poorly constructed originally and have since deteriorated rapidly under the ravages of hurricanes and flood waters to which the area's canal proximity have exposed it. The latter (Holy Ghost) area is adjacent to the central business district, is 88% black in population and has a median family income of $2,675.00.

The three parochial schools in these areas enroll a relatively small number of students, 292 in St. Philips, 344 in St. Davids, and 465 in Holy Ghost.

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*This section is a condensed and revised version of a case study prepared by Mrs. Sharon Howard (New Orleans, La.)

In all but Holy Ghost School, lay teachers outnumber religious and this staffing pattern has increased the tuition. Presently tuition and fees for the children of supporting parishoners in St. Philips amount to $104.00 per year for one child, $183.00 for 2 children, $242.00 for 3 children, etc. At St. Davids the comparable rates are $155.00, $200.00, and $254.00, respectively. Similar costs are involved for Holy Ghost students and in every school the rates are somewhat higher for non-Catholic children or the children of non-supporting Catholic parishoners.

The Workshop Way has been in use in these schools at grades 1-3 for two or more years. Classroom observations indicate that the children are interested, competitive, and independent in their work. Interviews with them, their teachers, and their parents all describe the Workshop Way as making the children eager to learn. Some of the teachers pointedly indicated their enthusiasm for it, particularly compared to the more traditional approaches. They report that absenteeism is down, and that the children come to school early, anxious to begin the day. Parents confirm this positive evaluation and specifically note the changes in attitude the children have toward school and their improvement in reading and mathematical skills. Part of this is credited to the dedication of the teachers of course, but part, too, is referred to the philosophy and methodology of the Workshop Way. Most of them had been briefed on its principles and understood that it was an innovative approach.

The perceptions of success with the Workshop Way in these non-public Catholic schools are not, however, shared by all educators. Some public school teachers have been identified who use all or parts of its philosophy and approach but at least in the New Orleans area, some public school administrators are not impressed. They conceded that the program's inclusion of the parents was a positive feature but felt that it did not adequately provide for art and music and other enrichment programs. Both black and white teachers using the Workshop Way knew of these critical views but rejected them. In their opinions the development of positive attitudes toward learning and the special needs that socially deprived black children have for "reading" and "math" are special qualities of the Workshop Way which more than justify its use.

Three out of the 20 Catholic high schools in New Orleans are all-black, collectively enrolling more than 65 per cent of the city's black students who attend Catholic high schools. The principal of one of these all-black high schools (St. Augustine's) repeatedly is accused of "racism-in-reverse," for allegedly he blocks the recruitment efforts of predominantly white Catholic high schools that seek to increase their black enrollments. He argues, it is reported, that blacks should band together to further their own interests, rather than associating with whites who are unwilling to treat them as equals. The principals of some all-black elementary schools promote the same view. Black leaders assert, in defense of efforts to maintain the existing constituencies of all-black high schools, that white administrators in search of a reputable quota of blacks should place some dollars behind the effort, recruiting students from among poor, neglected blacks rather than from the established constituencies of all-black Catholic schools, constituencies whose current status seems significantly attributable to the black schools in question. All three black Catholic high schools in New Orleans have tried without more than temporary success to attract white students. The Sisters of the Holy Family, who maintain all-black St. Mary's Academy on Chef Mentur Highway, have made particularly strenuous efforts in this connection. Why black Catholics ask, must integration always take place on the white man's territory, at the white man's invitation, on the white man's terms?

According to archdiocesan officials, virtually all of the rural all-black Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of New Orleans were abandoned during the early sixties, as part of the effort to eliminate "racial dualism" in the Catholic system. Many of these schools reportedly were much too small to be economically efficient, as a further reason for closure. In the light of our close examination of a rural all-black Catholic school (recounted later in connection with other events in the Diocese of Lafayette), there is some basis for asking whether the best interests of black Catholics were served in all instances in which these rural all-black schools were obliterated. There should be further research in this regard. The possibility exists that when Catholic officials close these schools, at least partly in response to the demand from distant, poorly informed Washington officials for "an end to racial discrimination," the end result at times is even more discrimination against the welfare of black Catholics. We will have occasion to return to this complex topic later.

We have introduced ample data to show that the Catholic schools of the Archdiocese of New Orleans are a long way from the achievement of racial balance. As we saw in Table 3/4, for example, only 8.2 per cent of Catholic elementary and 3.4 per cent of Catholic secondary students in 1970-71 were in schools in which the minority group exceeded 20 per cent of the enrollment. The primary reason, obviously, is that the schools of the archdiocese have so few blacks to "work with" in producing integrated student bodies--16.3 per cent of students at the elementary level and 12.0 per cent of students at the secondary level. As a second factor, black Catholics themselves are attempting to preserve all-black Catholic schools in some cases.

Another reason, especially in the suburbs, is found in segregated housing patterns, partially produced by the same federal government that demands desegregated schools. In some areas of the city of New Orleans, as in many Northern cities, conditions are such that it is difficult to keep newly integrated areas from becoming all black. An illustration of this fact is provided by the following condensation of one of the case studies carried out in this investigation.

The Changing Population of St. Leo's Parish*

> For some 50 years now St. Leo the Great Parish has served the religious needs of Catholics in that section of New Orleans roughly bounded by Bayon St. to Mairgery Avenue, Savage Street to the Fair Grounds, and Aubrey, North Tonti, North Dorgenois Streets, and Touro Street to the lake. And for almost 45 of these years St. Leo's Parochial School has provided religious and secular education for the elementary school age children of the area. Staffing the school from its opening in 1925 to 1971 were the Dominican Sisters assisted by some lay teachers.
>
> The area served by this parish and its school was directly in the line of New Orlean's migration toward the suburbs. It was a growth area. So much so, indeed, that the 2500 parishioners of 1925 had more than doubled to 5900 souls by 1944. And this pattern of growth continued but at a slower rate. Gradually St. Leo's became a more stable and settled neighborhood protected by zoning regulations which provided for two-family dwellings and single houses and which prohibited apartment buildings and limited rental properties. It was a solid middle-class parish. There were, of course, two black personal parishes within the territorial boundaries of St. Leo's Parish. But St. Leo the Great Parish was all white.
>
> This is the way it was until 1960. Then, on the order of Archbishop Rummel, St. Leo the Great's Parochial School was desegregated. The scenes that followed in September 1960 were not pretty. The pastor and principal complied with the Archbishop's directives but at that time neither seemed to favor the policy and their parishioners were bitter about it. The first day of registration brought the first black students to St. Leo's but it brought, too, police

* This section is a revised and edited version of a case study prepared by Mrs. Ann DePass Stuart.

cars and white segregationists who hoped by their threatening presence and by their insults to forestall integration. One black mother recalls it as the most horrible experience of her life. "I was so tense that I almost bit my lip off." The bitterness and the fear did not quickly go away but the goal was achieved. St. Leo's School was integrated.

In those first years, however, the school experiences of the black children were still marked by prejudice and discrimination. One parent reports that her son, an experienced altar boy in St. Raymond's black parish,was not accepted at St. Leo's even though a request for volunteers had been made. Another parent recalls that in 1961 the class making their First Holy Communion was lined up not according to height but with all the white children up front and all the black children at the rear. Some nuns, too, clearly showed their unhappiness at the presence of black children in their classes or seemed to fear reprisals from white parents. And some parents took their children out of St. Leo's.

The integration at St. Leo's was the dramatic but not the only factor in the changing social profile which has emerged in the past 10 years. New Orleans was continuing its population push out to the suburbs under the pressure of rising birth rates, industrial decentralization, and the blighting of some core city areas. Moreover, a tax system which discouraged the rehabilitation of older homes encouraged the development of suburban real estate and attracted the more mobile and more affluent to the secluded and "good life" of suburbia. Gradually, at first, a trickle of black families moved into St. Leo's Parish but during the past five or six years, the trickle has become a steady influx. Whether it was the movement out of the whites or the movement in of the blacks which triggered the change is highly debateable. The important point is that the territorial area covered by St. Leo the Great's Parish was in transition.

The hard evidence of this change in the parish and of its implications for the school appear in the enrollment and financial reports. Thus during the school year 1970-71 St. Leo's eight grades enrolled a total of 463 students, 260 black and 203 white.

> This year (1971-72)the enrollment is up slightly to 480 but now there are 316 black (+ 56) and 164 white (- 39) students. An all white school just 12 years ago, St. Leo the Great Parochial School is now 60% black. Moreover, the ratio of 3 or 4 blacks to 1 white student in the lower grades (K - 5) compared to a reverse ratio of 2.5 whites to 1 black in grade 8 prevision an even greater racial imbalance in the years just ahead.
>
> The transition at St. Leo's which accompanied integration and the demographic shift of its population basis was paralleled by other problems. Spiraling costs forced tuition up to $18.00 per month for the first child, $12.00 for the second child, $8.00 for the third child, and the remaining children free. Out-of-parish children must pay an additional $70.00 per year but still the tuition income falls short of expenses. Thus in 1970-71 the total expenditures amounted to $110,000.00 or $236.00 per pupil. To meet these costs the parish had to provide a subsidy of over $40,000.00, an amount which the pastor and some local observers fear has reached its upper limit. In addition, the local Dominican Sisters who had staffed the school for 50 years withdrew their nuns because they simply had insufficient Sisters. The pastor was able to replace some of them with Irish Dominican Sisters just before the school year began but the new ratio of 13 lay teachers and 5 religious has direct implications for instructional costs and for the image of St. Leo's as a Catholic school. Academically, the school is felt to be excellent and its discipline makes it especially attractive to black and white, Catholic and non-Catholic parents. In the opinions of many it provides a better education, religiously as well as secularly, than do the adjacent public schools. But St. Leo's is in transition and its future is most uncertain.

Since the elementary Catholic schools in New Orleans are operated by individual parishes, they have difficulty at times drawing children from a wide area in an effort to maintain integrated student bodies. In the high schools, many observers argue, integration should be easier to achieve, for students are capable of traveling greater distances, and funds are not derived from a single parish. Yet as we have seen, there is less integration in Catholic high schools than in Catholic elementary schools in the city.

A policy governing admissions to Catholic high schools in the Archdiocese of New Orleans seems partially responsible for the continued segregation of students at this level. Admissions are determined primarily in terms of the scores students obtain on the Science Research Associates High School Placement Test, administered in the eighth grade. The black student who fails to qualify for the Catholic high school of his first choice generally is unable to attend any Catholic high school at all. The safe tactic for many black students who want a Catholic education is to select one of the all-black Catholic high schools, which utilize lower cut-off points on the test than do the Catholic high schools that white youngsters attend.

In some rural areas of the New Orleans archdiocese, segregated white Catholic schools remain, despite the efforts of the archbishop, by virtue of the policies of local Catholic school boards. In reaction to situations of the latter type, the Louisiana Conference of Major Superiors of Women (later renamed the Louisiana Leadership Conference of Religious Women) issued a news release on January 15, 1970, declaring that "we are determined to respond to the statements of our bishops calling for interracial justice and to cooperate with the civil government and with public school officials in implementing the decisions of the Supreme Court declaring segregation of blacks and whites in public schools to be unconstitutional." The conference gave notice, among other things, that its member religious communities would withdraw personnel from any school that was not ready "to accept teachers and students of all races and cultural backgrounds." Just a few weeks later (April 15, 1970), in keeping with the statement, the Benedictine Sisters notified St. Peter's Parish in Covington (about 35 miles directly north of New Orleans) that because the parish school was accepting a large number of transferees from recently integrated public schools in the area, the services of the sisters would reluctantly be withdrawn after ninety-two years of continuous service in the school.[36] But there are indications that the withdrawal of the nuns was partially occasioned by the fact that the community insisted the current principal (a nun) was incompetent and must be replaced, whereas the principal's religious superior insisted the local people must either accept the principal or face the loss of all the teaching sisters. In situations of this kind, one rarely finds all the "good guys" on the one side and all the "bad guys" on the other.

A further factor helping inhibit racial integration in the Catholic schools of the archdiocese is, as we noted earlier, that predominantly white schools are generally more expensive to attend than predominantly black schools.

In the light of the convoluted conditions we have outlined, what should the archdiocese do? In a communication dated August 12, 1971, Archbishop Hannan (Cody's successor) explained his position with respect to segregated Catholic schools in the city and the suburbs:

> Again, we do not wish to compare Catholic and public schools, for we both have long strides to make both in the field of education and social justice. But the fact is that the Catholic and public schools in Jefferson [Parish] which are all white were built in the expanding subdivision areas--and those areas are predominantly white.
>
> We cannot assign racial motives to every family which has moved out of New Orleans in the postwar era and beyond, because the fact is that adequate and moderately priced housing is not available, and has not been available, in the city of New Orleans for either white or black citizens desiring to either buy or rent.
>
> We cannot deny our obligation to provide an education for those Catholics who have moved to Jefferson. Nor, on the other hand, can we deny an education to black Catholics who may continue--because of years of devotion to the Josephites, Blessed Sacrament Sisters or other similarly dedicated communities of religious[37]--to enroll their children in an all-black school. We cannot deny a Catholic education to the affluent in the university or Garden District areas because the schools which they choose for their children may have little integration because of the tuition rates. Nor can we deny a Catholic education to the poorer families whose inner-city school may be predominantly white or predominantly black because of housing patterns.
>
> The task before all of us is great and is complicated because of lack of funds. Public school spending per pupil is some three times higher than Catholic schools yet they, like us, are beset with multiple problems. Catholic school closure has been suggested by some persons who would rather abandon the schools than continue the long struggle to maintain them in service to the community.

> But an intelligent, unemotional, and objective analysis would seem to me to come to the conclusion that all citizens of this community, black and white, would be much worse off without our Catholic schools. Therefore, we must stick with the task of education, as indeed it was dictated by the faithful of the Archdiocese of New Orleans in a survey conducted by the Archdiocesan School Board earlier this year. In the parishes having the totally or predominantly black schools, the parishioners voted for maintaining Catholic schools as did the parishioners in other church parishes in New Orleans.
>
> I do not suggest that we maintain either all white or all black schools and I will continue to work for social justice in the field of education as well as in other fields of concern in this Archdiocese. But I do suggest that we--despite financial difficulties--follow the wishes of black and white Catholics and maintain our schools, finding the means of bringing about integration to a greater degree while striving, too, to upgrade the education of our children.
>
> Sweeping generalities that we are not serving the cause of social justice are erroneous. Generalities that we can, by the sweep of the hand, bring all of our schools to some percentage formula of black-white ratio are likewise based on emotion, not on firm facts.

As if in reply, the Institutions Committee of the Archdiocesan Human Relations Commission, sent a letter to the chairman of the Archdiocesan School Board on September 8, 1971. "To be Christian," the letter declared, "the [Catholic school] system must be totally integrated."[38] Rejecting the validity of the archbishop's above-quoted defense of existing policies, the commission recommended that the archdiocese overcome current barriers to integration in a number of ways--such as abandoning the parish as the basis for school finance and attendance at the elementary level; busing "if necessary to achieve a totally moral and Christian school system," but "with no single race receiving the brunt of the busing order"; standardizing tuition at all elementary schools; creating a special fund to assist "schools in financial need"; and pairing or consolidating predominantly black schools with predominantly white schools.

But if the Human Relations Committee was rejecting the archbishop's position, it seemed equally unsympathetic to (or perhaps unaware of) the reasons why many black people in New Orleans want some all-black schools maintained. None of our interviewees disavowed the long-range goal of a fully integrated society, but most blacks were so disillusioned with the fruits of integration in the current social climate that they felt, for reasons previously discussed in this paper, there would be need for all-black institutions for some years to come. In this regard, the archbishop is damned if he does and damned if he doesn't. Uneasy lies the head that wears the mitre! It is perhaps significant, however, that some black Catholics seem happier than most of his Catholic critics with the prelate's performance to this point.

These pressures on the archbishop may be increased by an extensive integration-by-busing program imposed on the public schools of suburban Jefferson (Civil) Parish by the federal courts in the fall of 1971. The major details of this program and of reactions to it are described in the following condensed case study.

Operation Bus Stop*

> In Louisiana the processes of desegregation have resulted in an increase of almost 50% in the number of public school students enrolled in schools with at least 10% of the opposite race. In 1968-69 only 16% of these students were in such schools, but by 1970-71 this proportion had risen to 63%, but it was not and is not an easy and painless process.
>
> Jefferson Parish, a parish immediately adjacent to the city of New Orleans, is the geographic setting. Integration efforts there have been legally resisted but without success. Finally, under court orders, the Parish School Board, in August 1971, legislated a redistricting plan which removed the sixth grade from all elementary schools and added it to the middle school level (6th, 7th, 8th). In addition supplementary boundaries were added to the neighborhood elementary school districts. Specifically, these changes required that black elementary school students be bussed from the Bunch Village section to the Bissonet Plaza School and that white sixth graders from Bissonet Plaza be bussed to the newly established Bunche Village Middle School. The bussing distance involved was 12 miles "across town" and also across two major traffic intersections.

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*This section is a condensed and revised version of a case study prepared by Prof. Veronica Egan (Loyola Univ., New Orleans, La.)

The ruling, not surprisingly, proved to be unpopular among the black parents of Bunche Village and the white parents of Bissonet Plaza. The former feared the loss of "their" school and the threat of control which affluent white parents might exert over the parent-teacher association. The latter protested not only the bussing of their children but the loss of a school and staff which enjoyed a high reputation for providing quality education. Each group felt that they were being uprooted, and the timing, just days before schools reopened, deepened the resentment. It was out of such dissension, debate, and emotions that "Operation Bus Stop" was born.

"Operation Bus Stop Inc." was a group of white parents in Bissonet Plaza who were opposed to bussing. Their protest meetings in late August were attended by hundreds of parents and some school board members. Resolutions were passed, telegrams were sent to President Nixon and to Attorney-General Mitchell, and the School Board was prevailed upon to file a request for a stay order. Nothing succeeded. The 1971 school year began with the 6th grade white children from Bissonet being bussed to the Bunche Middle School and the black elementary school children (grades 1-5) from the Kenner area being bussed to Bissonet.

Most parents have "gone along" with the bussing requirements partially because they have had no alternatives. Catholic schools in the area already had "waiting lists" and the private academies were either already filled or were prohibitive because of their tuition. But few are happy with the situation. White parents have been more articulate in their criticism and have emphasized the usual range of difficulties. They view the Bunche Village School as educationally inferior, too far away, unsafe for their children, ill-equipped, etc. More than that, they indicate that the homogeneous grouping of their children by ability operates to segregate rather to integrate since the white students cluster at the top level and the black students at the lower levels. Even on the playground the children separate themselves by race. Some parents and children are less critical and have found advantages in the Bunche School but they are a distinct minority.

It may prove morally embarrassing if the public schools of Jefferson Parish achieve a significant racial balance through busing while Catholic schools in the same areas remain largely segregated. To the credit of archdiocesan leaders, however, it should be pointed out that they took well publicized steps to prevent an influx of white students into Catholic schools in Jefferson (Civil) Parish in response to the public school busing. In contrast to the situation in the other dioceses of the state under similar circumstances, discussed later, enrollment in the Catholic elementary schools in the Jefferson (Civil) Parish dropped in 1970-71, declining from 18,952 to 18,544.

The secondary Catholic schools, to which the busing program was largely irrelevant, experienced a modest growth, from 3,966 students in 1970-71 to 4,153 students in 1971-72.

Developments in the Diocese of Baton Rouge

In the section immediately preceding, we began our analysis of race-related events by examining developments in the Archdiocese of New Orleans (identified as ANO in the following passages), whose Catholic schools enroll 62.1 per cent of all Catholic school students in Louisiana (see Table 1/1). In terms of Catholic school enrollment, the Diocese of Baton Rouge (DBR) ranks third in the state, not second. However, we think it logical to consider DBR at this point for two reasons: First, like ANO, its bishop for some years has attracted national attention for his statements on racial justice. The other two bishops in Louisiana have made similar declarations recently, but so has virtually every other Catholic leader in the United States, now that it is "progressive" so to do. But as black Catholics repeatedly emphasize, rhetoric must be compared with action. The latter counts the more.

Second, as we have seen, DBR and ANO have similar proportions of black Catholics to draw upon in an effort to produce racial integration in Catholic schools (about 10 per cent of communicants in both areas are black). On the surface, it appears that DBR has fallen behind ANO in seizing the opportunity to attract black students into Catholic schools (see Table 3/9). As part of the explanation, perhaps ANO's stronger Catholic traditions give its schools higher status in the minds of citizens generally, thus making them more attractive to blacks (and whites).

According to Table 3/4, in 1970-71 DBR also generally was less successful than ANO with respect to the amount of integration achieved in Catholic schools. On the plus side (in one sense, at least), only 4.5 per cent of Catholic elementary school students in DBR were in "all" or "mostly" black schools, as compared with 11.0 per cent in ANO; and no Catholic secondary school students in DBR were in "all" or "mostly" black schools, as compared with 8.1 per cent in ANO. With the exception of one "school pairing" situation, discussed later, which was intended to produce integration but instead inspired most whites to leave for public schools, there are no predominantly black Catholic schools left in DBR. In interpreting these data one must be wary, however. The facile way out of "racially dual" Catholic school systems in Louisiana is simply to close black schools. It seems to us, however, that these schools may often perform vital functions in black communities. As we have seen in past discussions and will observe again, when black Catholic students are asked to leave their black schools and enter nearby schools dominated by Catholic whites, the "opportunities" extended are often delusive. In this respect, what pleases the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in its distant observation tower, may conflict with the needs of interests of many black citizens. Catholic schools in DBR are somewhat vulnerable to the charge that they are abdicating their responsibility to serve black Catholics to some equitably proportionate degree. As we observed earlier (see Table 3/9), DBR is behind the other three dioceses in the state in this regard. Furthermore, according to Table 3/12, the proportion of blacks in the DBR student population has been declining (from 8.5 per cent in 1969-70 to 5.7 per cent in 1971-72).

Perhaps more definitely on the minus side, in 1970-71 92.9 per cent of students in DBR in Catholic elementary schools were in "all" or "mostly" white schools, as compared with only 80.8 per cent in ANO, and 100 per cent of students in Catholic secondary schools in DBR were in "all or "mostly" white schools, as compared with 88.5 per cent in ANO (see Table 3/4).

Since our information from the Diocese of Baton Rouge is incomplete in several important particulars (the diocesan superintendent, though most cooperative, has been seriously ill during the present study), we are unable to make several further enrollment analyses that would be illuminating. We would like, for example, to compare the racial distribution of students in the city of New Orleans with the racial distribution of students in the city of Baton Rouge.

TABLE 3/13

Student Enrollment, Elementary and Secondary
Catholic Schools, Diocese of Baton Rouge, 1969-70 to 1971-72.

	STUDENT ENROLLMENT					
	1969-70		1970-71		1971-72	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Ascension Catholic	885	112	1011	66	962	58
St. Theresa of Avila	616	3	624	0	468	1
St. Elizabeth	224	7	264	16	283	16
St. Philomena	224	4	220	5	167	0
Catholic High School	431	24	421	18	458	18
Our Lady of Mercy	513	3	543	6	518	6
Redemptorist Jr/Sr. High	1170	49	1153	51	1118	41
Sacred Heart	406	48	377	49	336	65
St. Agnes	348	143	177	121	4	87
St. Aloysius	656	46	691	42	682	37
St. Alphonsus	239	0	223	0	224	0
St. Anthony	486	2	483	7	441	10
St. Charles	167	3	227	3	191	3
St. Francis Xavier	0	289	17	232	4	150
St. George	477	3	498	5	507	7
St. Gerard Majella	576	3	629	6	576	13
St. Isidore	203	10	208	10	211	8
St. Joseph Academy	615	32	615	36	618	35
St. Joseph Cathedral Prep	47	4	55	5	51	7
St. Pius X	332	0	473	0	450	4
St. Thomas More	1282	0	1285	0	1315	0
Our Lady of Prompt Succor	277	0	278	0	243	0
St. John	678	29	707	23	689	20
Catholic High Of Pointe Coupee	638	78	683	62	755	172
St. Augustine	0	287	0	261	Consolidated	
Chanel Interparochial	536	7	546	6	534	8
St. Michael	85	15	79	11	Closed	
Holy Ghost	469	3	600	2	607	3
Mater Dolorosa	317	0	327	0	319	0
St. Joseph (Ponchatoula)	333	5	324	5	321	5
Holy Family	441	55	501	43	462	39
	13,671	1,264	14,239	1,091	13,514	813
Total, Black and White	14,935		15,330		14,327	
Proportion Black	8.5%		7.1%		5.7%	

Source: Diocesan Superintendent of Schools.

The first racial integration in the public schools of Baton Rouge occurred in the autumn of 1964, when 27 black teenagers entered an erstwhile all-white high school.[39] Subsequently, the city maintained a "freedom-of-choice" plan that proved an efficient device for keeping the races largely separate. During the school year 1970-71, in a system enrolling 65,000 youngsters, only about 3,000 students (mostly black) were attending schools where the other race was numerically dominant.

The next step was the result of a Supreme Court order, in October, 1969, for desegregation "at once." In Baton Rouge, "at once" proved to be ten months later, for it took that long for local committees to work out a plan. The blueprint called for a 65/35 ratio of white teachers to black teachers in every public school--to correspond with the ratio of white students to black students in the public school system--and for the desegregation of students through realignment of school attendance boundaries (no bussing). Because of housing patterns, the design would leave some all-black and all-white schools undisturbed, but approximately 2,000 white children would be shifted into schools serving primarily black patrons, and approximately 5,000 black children would be shifted into schools serving primarily white patrons.

The U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the U.S. District Court in Baton Rouge approved the plan, even though some citizens described it as a cynical attempt to provide the least integration possible under prevailing court doctrines.

It was a time of frenetic litigation over racial issues throughout the South. Any realistic citizen reading the newspapers could see that public school segregation was dead, or soon would be. In anticipation of the court order of October, 1969, there was a net student inflow of between 3.7 and 11.4 per cent into the Catholic schools of DBR--an inflow of between 2.7 and 12.2 per cent at the elementary level (depending on which figures in Table 3/13 one accepts as accurate) and an inflow of 7.9 per cent at the secondary level. Reports are conflicting (see Table 3/13 again) as to the extent to which, and the grade level at which, the enrollment growth continued in 1970-71, though there is consensus that the student population in the Catholic schools subsequently declined, at both elementary and secondary levels, in 1971-72. For several years previous to 1969-70, the enrollment had been exhibiting a slow but steady decline (Tables 1/1 and 3/12).

If many parents of the incoming students were fleeing public schools in the belief that racial integration was coming, their perceptions were accurate. In 1968-69, the East Baton Rouge (Civil) Parish for example, in which the city of Baton Rouge is located, had only two schools with at least 30 percent of both races (enrolling a total of 184 whites and 115 blacks).[40] In 1969-70, 4 schools were in this substantially integrated category, and 669 whites and 654 blacks were affected. By 1970-71, 16 schools had at least 30 percent of both races, and 5,497 whites and 3,800 blacks were affected. Similar substantial desegregation was accomplished in nearly all civil parishes in DBR.

TABLE 3/14

CONFLICTING ENROLLMENT FIGURES FOR CATHOLIC SCHOOLS, DIOCESE OF BATON ROUGE, 1967-68 TO 1971-72

Grade Level and Source of Data	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	% Incr. over 1969-1970	1970-71	% Incr. over 1970-1971	1971-1972
Elementary	N	N	N		N		N
Letter[a]	11,885	10,850	12,175	12.2	12,864	5.6	10,945
Table 3/13[b]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
NCEA[c]	12,020	11,911	12,220	2.7	12,153	-.5	--
Secondary							
Letter	2,736	2,713	2,928	7.9	2,522	-16.1	2,536
Table 3/13	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
NCEA	2,736	2,713	2,928	7.9	3,278	12.0	--
TOTAL							
Letter	14,621	13,563	15,103	11.4	15,386	1.9	13,481
Table 3/13	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
NCEA	14,756	14,624	15,148	3.7	15,431	2.0	

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[a] Letter to Donald A. Erickson from Brother Felician Fourrier, S.C., Diocesan Superintendent of Schools, Diocese of Baton Rouge, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, November 22, 1971.

[b] Table obtained from above-mentioned Diocesan Superintendent of Schools.

[c] NCEA Report, 1970-71, Appendix A, Tables 1-1, 1-2, 1-3.

As for whites fleeing integrated public schools in 1969-70 and 1970-71, the diocesan superintendent asserts, "We headed them off at the pass!" Well, not quite, as the above-discussed evidence indicates. Furthermore, though diocesan officials acted to block the pass, they did so a little late. According to numerous indications, a significant number of new families suddenly found Catholic schools attractive in the fall of 1969. It was not until February 18, 1970, that the following policy statement of the Baton Rouge Diocesan Board of Education was sent out over the approving signature of Bishop Robert E. Tracy:

> POLICY STATEMENT
> On the Acceptance of New Students into the
> Catholic Schools of the Diocese of Baton Rouge
>
> 1. The Catholic schools of the Diocese of Baton Rouge shall not become havens or even give the appearance of becoming havens for any students who may be seeking to avoid pressures brought about by recent civil integration developments and procedures in the various civil parishes in the Diocese;
>
> 2. It shall be the clear and steadfast purpose of the schools of the Diocese to achieve in these schools a racial balance which shall be--at the very least--proportionate to the Catholic population;
>
> 3. In those cases in which physical limitations make it necessary to restrict, in some way, the intake of students into a given school, a definite priority is established, herewith, in favor of the parents of applicants who have demonstrated their support of Catholic education in the past and of black Catholics generally.
>
> 4. Meanwhile, as we have already proclaimed, the following general principles and policies shall continue to prevail:
>
>   A. With Christian charity as its basic foundation, the Diocesan Board of Education wishes to promulgate and reiterate teachings and admonitions of the Catholic Church regarding racial justice and equality in the operation and administration of its educational institutions.

> B. It shall be the continuous policy of this board that all Catholic schools of the diocese be open to all children and all teachers regardless of race. Furthermore, this diocese and its system of parochial schools are dedicated to the elimination of discrimination under whatever guise it might or will be employed. Therefore, the refusal of a student solely because of race--either directly or indirectly--is strictly prohibited.

This action might have been anticipated. Bishop Tracy is widely credited as persuading the Second Vatican Council to include a specific condemnation of racism in its resolutions. In his own diocese he has been pushing hard for the development of diocesan and parish programs to counteract racism and improve the lot of the poor, to such an extent, according to several informants, that he has incurred the wrath of many white middle-class communicants. He has demanded that each parish create a "Social Responsibility Committee" to attack "areas of apostolic endeavor which have strong and clear social overtones, such as education, employment, recreation, health, justice, social attitudes, poverty, race relations, equality before the law."[41] Some black leaders allege, however, that there has been much talk and little action. They complain, as well, that the program is paternalistic, involving little consultation with the black people who are the purported beneficiaries.

It was obvious early in 1970 that Catholic school officials would look warily at any white student who attempted to leave the public school in which he was currently enrolled before completing the grades that school was offering. But the admission of students who wanted to enter the first grade of Catholic elementary schools, the admission of students who had finished a public elementary education and wanted to enter the seventh grade of Catholic junior high schools, or the admission of students who had finished a public junior high school education and wanted to enter the ninth grade of Catholic senior high schools presented a dilemma. How could an administrator determine whether a youngster wanting to begin his Catholic education at the elementary, junior high, or senior high level (as many had done in the past) was there for racist reasons? To help with this problem, the diocesan superintendent of schools issued a set of "Regulations to Implement Policies of Admission of Students to Catholic Schools." So far as the first, seventh, and ninth grades were concerned, the superintendent ruled that Catholic schools must "reserve a proper proportion of their . . . intake for black applicants until Friday, March 13, 1970." Thereafter, spaces would be filled in the following manner:

In the first grade:

1. Children with brothers or sisters presently enrolled in a Catholic school of the Diocese.
2. Children of parishioners or former parishioners whose present parish resulted from the division of a parish.
3. Children of parents in other parishes which have no parochial school.

In the seventh grade:

1. Children from feeder parishes which contribute to the capital expenditure of the school:
    a. with brothers or sisters enrolled in the interparochial junior/senior high school.
    b. brothers and/or sisters of graduates of the interparochial senior high school.
    c. the first child of a family entering the 7th grade.
2. Children from other church parishes.

In the ninth grade:

1. Children presently enrolled in the 8th grades of our Catholic elementary schools with brothers or sisters presently enrolled in the Catholic schools of the Diocese.
2. Children whose brothers or sisters are graduates of the high school.
3. The first child of a family entering the 9th grade.

In the fall of 1970, as we have seen, the flow of new students into the Catholic schools of the Diocese of Baton Rouge was considerably reduced.

These efforts of officials of DBR were not the first steps taken to promote racial justice in the Catholic schools of the diocese. By 1966, reportedly, the diocese had integrated all its schools to some unspecified extent, though some informants claim there was no integration in actuality until 1967. Action to do away with 6 all-black schools then existing was evidently precipitated by the insistence of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in June, 1966, that the bishop sign an agreement of compliance with the Civil

Rights Act as the price of eligibility for federal assistance which, according to the prelate's estimate, totalled more than $1 million. Subsequently, the following five all-black Catholic schools were closed, four in 1966 and one in 1969:

1966: St. Benedict the Moor (consolidated with St. Elizabeth)
Immaculate Conception (consolidated with St. John)
St. Catherine High (consolidated with Ascension Catholic High)
St. Joseph (consolidated with St. Michael)

1969: St. Catherine Elementary (consolidated with St. Vincent)

There is some confusion in terminology as to the death of these five schools. One diocesan statement describes all five as having been "consolidated" with nearby white Catholic schools.[42] In another statement, the bishop of the diocese states that "three all-black schools have been closed and their student bodies amalgamated with that of other schools, and two other all-black schools were paired with nearby white schools."[43]

The fates of two other all-black Catholic schools in the Diocese of Baton Rouge (St. Augustine Elementary and St. Francis Xavier Elementary) remained in doubt for almost two years longer, while the Diocesan Board of Education and the Diocesan Pastoral Council pondered the strategic alternatives. The earlier "consolidations" had produced adverse reactions from both blacks and whites. Many blacks were angry to see that integration was always accomplished on the white man's territory, on the white man's terms. Black families encountered tuition increases. The teachers and administrators who lost their positions were mostly black. Many whites were unprepared to accept the influx of black students. Many white and black students withdrew from Catholic schools that were affected by "consolidation."

Bishop Tracy announced during the latter half of 1971 that, as of September, 1971:

> At New Roads, St. Augustine School is to be paired with Catholic High. At Baton Rouge, St. Francis Xavier is to be disestablished as an all-black school. The manner in which this is to be done will be decided and announced within a few days. . . . This action will end all dualism in the schools of the diocese.

> This unitary system, covering the two campuses, in each case will be governed locally by an interparochial school board with proportionate representation from the church parishes involved. At New Roads, the existing interparochial school board will govern the operation of the newly paired schools. At Baton Rouge, a new interparochial school board will be established.
>
> To wait until 1972 would not be consistent with our agreement to comply, within a reasonable length of time, with the provisions of the Civil Rights Act that we do not ". . . . on the ground of race, color, or national origin, maintain separate facilities, activities, or programs."[44]

The events involved in one of these two "pairings,"(that of St. Francis Xavier which enrolled 232 blacks and 17 whites in 1970-71 and St. Agnes which enrolled 121 blacks and 177 whites in 1970-71), illustrate the tortured character of the Catholic racial dilemma in the Diocese of Baton Rouge (See Table 3/12).

The St. Agnes parish was once all white, but in recent years had successfully accepted a significant number of black families, a good number of them from St. Francis Xavier, an all-black parish. The St. Francis Xavier Church is an antiquated though safe building, but the parish elementary school functions in an attractive structure erected by the parishioners at great financial sacrifice a few years ago. The parish was founded, and is still maintained, by the Josephite fathers, an order discussed toward the beginning of this chapter. The school has been staffed for more than ninety years by the all-black Sisters of the Holy Family, whose headquarters are in New Orleans.

During the last decade or so, a number of discouraging developments had transpired in St. Francis Xavier parish. The parishioners had constructed not only the St. Francis Xavier Elementary School but also, at a time when white Catholic schools in Baton Rouge were still racially segregated as a matter of policy, the only black Catholic high school in the city. Then an expressway was build directly through the community, splitting it up, debasing its environment, and demolishing its high school building. By that time, the other Catholic high schools were officially desegregated, but few black families could afford the tuitions charged by white-dominated Catholic high schools, so many youngsters were forced to transfer to public high schools. During the years when racial integration was the "big thing" among blacks, the Josephite fathers had encouraged many people in St. Francis Xavier parish to transfer to integrated parishes and schools. The membership dwindled, both in the church and the school (in the latter case, from about 800 students at one time to a mere 249 in 1970-71). Finances were a growing problem, for the parish still had a sizeable debt from the erection of the new school building. There was talk from time to time of closing the church or school or both--at least until recently. Now many parishioners are aroused and self-assertive--in no mood to leave for white-dominated institutions.

At some point during the first half of 1971, the all-black Sisters of the Holy Family heard that diocesan officials might close St. Francis Xavier Elementary School. The Mother Superior of the religious order contacted the Baton Rouge chancery explicitly asking to be included in any deliberations concerning the future of St. Francis Xavier. Reportedly she was assured that no changes were planned for the 1971-72 school year; so she arranged her personnel assignments accordingly.

During the next few months diocesan officials made plans to "pair" the St. Francis Xavier school with nearby St. Agnes. Grades K - 4 would be housed at St. Francis Xavier and grades 5 - 8 at St. Agnes. The schools would be governed by an interparochial board representing two black parishes (St. Francis Xavier and Immaculate Conception) and one predominantly white parish (St. Agnes). According to one report, diocesan officials made their decision without consulting the people in either parish. According to another report, some consultations occurred, but only with communicants in the white-dominated St. Agnes parish. It does seem, however, that the Sisters of the Holy Family were neither consulted nor kept informed. The diocesan superintendent claims that he wanted to invite the St. Francis Xavier principal to the deliberations but was unable to inform her of the meetings. The Holy Family nuns point out that a simple phone call to the mother house in New Orleans was all that was required to reach her. Part of the problem, some informants insist, was that the diocesan superintendent was ill during much of this period.

The Holy Family nuns became aware of the new policy only when they arrived at the St. Francis Xavier convent to begin the new school year. The sister who had been appointed as the principal of St. Francis Xavier by the Superior General of her religious community refused, for a time, to act as a mere subordinate to the white principal of St. Agnes, as the diocesan plan demanded. There were sharp exchanges between the Superior General of the Holy Family nuns and the Bishop of Baton Rouge before a short-lived accommodation was worked out. The bishop made certain adjustments in working conditions, giving more recognition to the principal of St. Francis Xavier. However, it is reported that the administrative nerve-center of the two-school complex is at St. Agnes, whose white principal exercises the "real" rather than pro forma control.

Shortly before the "pairing" took place, some informants insist, the white patrons of St. Agnes and the pastor of the parish went on record as stating they were agreeable to the racial integration that then existed at St. Agnes but would not tolerate a situation in which blacks would constitute a majority of the student group. The bishop said the "pairing" was unavoidable for at least two reasons--(1) his own conscience compelled it, and (2) he had signed an agreement with the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, promising to eliminate racial "dualism" in the diocese. He asked parents in both parishes to please cooperate and give the plan a chance to work.

Many black parishioners at St. Francis Xavier were annoyed concerning the arbitrary way in which they perceived that the pairing had been mapped out and introduced. As their self-assertiveness arose, their patience wore thin. They felt, several respondents insist, that white leaders in the CAtholic church had been denying them the right of self-determination for many years, as had secular officials of Baton Rouge. St. Francis Xavier people believed, for example, that their parish had been the victim of an effort to route the new expressway so as to leave undamaged the predominantly white St. Agnes parish and a nearby all-white Methodist church. However, the parishioners at St. Francis Xavier decided to cooperate in the pairing. But in their view, our informants report, the white parishioners at St. Agnes "copped out." Whereas 194 white children (along with 353 black children) were attending the two schools before the pairing took place, only 8 whites and 237 blacks remained afterward. Many blacks allegedly left because they had to pay approximately twice the tuition fees after the pairing that they had paid previously.

As a result of the drastic enrollment decline, the financial problems of maintaining the two schools were seriously intensified. A deficit of $30,000 seemed certain to accumulate by the end of the school year. In contrast, the total income from parish collections at St. Francis Xavier is only about $69,000 per year. A special open meeting of the still-temporary interparochial school board was called to consider what to do. Many members of the black community attended. Bishop Tracy appeared, said he had considered the evidence, and announced that he could see no solution other than to close one of the two schools as of January, 1972, and offer the entire program in the other school as a way of cutting down costs. The school to be closed, he said, was St. Francis Xavier (see above-quoted statement). In fact, it would probably be necessary to abandon the antiquated St. Francis Xavier Church as well, and ask its parishioners to attend St. Agnes Church instead.

Our informants state that black people from the St. Francis Xavier and Immaculate Conception parishes who were present at the meeting were astounded, furious, and outraged. Their school seemed to them the more logical one to keep open, since its physical facilities were notably superior to those of St. Agnes. Once again, they felt, the bishop was discriminating against black communicants in his decisions. They were particularly chagrined by the fact, as they saw it, that whites had sabotaged the pairing program, but blacks were being punished for the failure. Furthermore, they were told by people who claimed to have inside information that the bishop had had his eye on the St. Francis Xavier school building as the future location of a diocesan special education center. Discussing these considerations, many members of the black community decided it was time to "draw the line." They had erected the school building at great sacrifice and were not going to let the bishop "take it away" without a fight.

At the same time, the black Holy Family nuns decided to make an issue of the bishop's statement. They resolved to withdraw *all* their members from the school *immediately*, as a dramatic protest, unless the bishop reversed his plan to close the school in January, 1972. Members of the order explain their concern partly by arguing that black Catholics are becoming so disenchanted with the church that the Catholic school is often the only factor that keeps them from deserting the fold altogether. Along with members of the parish, the Holy Family nuns sent the bishop a strident "position paper" on September 14, 1971, demanding an immediate statement, *in writing*, as to whether the school would be closed. The position paper, submitted by "parishioners, parents, teachers, interparochial board members, parish council members, and all other persons concerned with the future of St. Francis Xavier church and school," read as follows:

With Christian charity, justice and practical common sense as the basis of our motives, we respectfully submit this position paper regarding the current circumstances surrounding the future of St. Francis Xavier Parish Church and School.

We have acted in good faith in cooperating to the fullest extent with the plan that was developed to pair St. Francis Xavier and St. Agnes Schools. In fact, from the very outset, we have strongly supported the plan and likewise its implementation, sacrificing much of what was achieved through singular efforts of our devoted parishioners, teachers, priests, nuns, students and parents under very unfavorable circumstances at times. However, the time has now come to prove that we will no longer tolerate the unfair, unchristian, and unjustified attacks, resolutions, decisions and decrees perpetrated upon our institutions because we happen to occupy a minority status among the faithful of this diocese. Because we have been obedient, accommodating, willing to cooperate, and seemingly powerless to repel the forces laboring to divide and conquer us at the least provocation, there are those who have used their authority --rightly or wrongly-- to foster their aims and objectives or those of their deceitful advisors, to deprive us of those things we also hold dear and for which we have labored diligently to build and maintain in spite of the overpowering odds.

Accordingly, we submit the following demands as reparation for the past and/or proposals emanating from certain persons or groups who seem to vacillate from stated, official and, in many instances, public decisions which were promulgated as policy deriving from obligations considered morally right and just. In the past several days, it appears that there has been a dynamic and sudden abdication of those Christian tenets because of what appears to be political expediency or other ulterior factors. In particular, we refer to the matter under consideration which is aimed at demolishing the St. Francis Xavier School as a regular teaching facility housing grades K through 4 and/or perhaps including upper elementary levels. Some of the many reasons that must be taken into consideration relative to this situation are: Firstly, it is incumbent upon the consultative boards concerned to deliberate the possible irreparable harm which might result from such an apparent devious and irrational action such as the sudden unwarranted and totally biased proposal to discontinue or disestablish St. Francis Xavier as a teaching facility offering academic preparations for normal children of grades K - 4 and possibly through 8. In essence, the pairing situation is not presently very stable--or for that matter, is not succeeding--because the leadership has been conspicuously absent from the Pastor of St. Agnes, the Principal of St. Agnes School, lay parish leaders and others who feel that their "Christian" mission was accomplished by enrolling Blacks in St. Agnes in past years in such large numbers. In other words, the apparent thinking by some of the vocal opponents of pairing was that they would have gone beyond their Christian duty by accepting and participating in a plan which would have more Black students and Black Interparochial Board representation than they could possibly tolerate, no matter the Christian principles involved. Moreover, the very idea of enrolling non-special education white children at a previously all-Black facility -- even though it is recognized as the most modern and best-constructed in the diocese is apparently utterly repulsive to a majority of the white parents.

Obviously, it is not Blacks who are uncooperative and openly defiant of Bishop Tracy's decrees regarding this situation; however, it is equally obvious that, as usual, Blacks are expected to suffer the consequences of white defiance and hatred, even though we are attempting to fulfill our responsibility as cooperatively as possible. That spirit of blind obedience is rapidly coming to an end, especially in this situation. Perhaps, now, it is time that we show how resentful and wrathful we can be by also proving to Bishop Tracy and others of his philosophy that our patience, too, can be exhausted. Also, perhaps we should forget about people's feelings in this situation, as Bishop Tracy has said he is doing presently in his decision to demolish St. Francis Xavier Church and disestablish the school as a K - 4 or K - 8 situation of learning in this diocese.

It is public knowledge that we commended His Excellency for his forthright and courageous stand in fulfilling his "obligation in conscience" to eliminate dualism by proposing a merger of Sts. Agnes and Francis Xavier Schools. It is also public knowledge that he said there would be no transfers to other Catholic diocesan schools from St. Agnes and St. Francis Xavier Schools. It is now public knowledge that His Excellency, Bishop Trace, is reversing (perhaps under pressure of dollar signs and influential, prominent whites) his "moral obligation in conscience"; it is most publicly obvious that many of the whites who left this paired situation decided, apparently with His Excellency's direct or indirect approval, to enroll in other diocesan Catholic Schools in utter defiance of His Excellency's orders. Consequently, we are being punished for their "Christian actions."

If the Bishop is disposed to listening and understanding to others who do not necessarily endorse his thinking, we submit these factors for his consideration as well as the fair consideration of the Boards concerned:

1. The temporary Interparochial Board established to govern the St. Francis Xavier -- St. Agnes merger should be given permanent status immediately -- if not sooner -- and representation should be proportionate to the student population. This Board, when duly constituted, should be given the authority to decide how the interparochial school should be operated. Such Boards in other areas of the diocese are endowed with similar powers, why is it that suddenly this does not apply to this situation? (We strongly suspect that certain persons believe and fear that the Board would be predominantly Black, thereby forcing the whites who would be Christian and courageous enough to remain to a minority status, which they have already indicated they could not possibly accept). Of course, this was, and still is, advocated strongly by Monsignor Gillespie, because he stated it publicly and gave his pastoral blessings, it appears, to all others who performed their "Christian" duty by withdrawing from the paired arrangement.

2. Bishop Robert Emmett Tracy has traditionally neglected his moral obligation when the decision appeared to favor Blacks; in this case he certainly won't break his ten year record unless his conscience (and hopefully it is a Christian conscience) will emerge victorious and triumph over evil for a change. We do find it rather strange that His Excellency's moral conscience was not operating in 1965 when he delayed integration of diocesan schools until he felt the public schools were successfully integrated. Actually, we are presently perplexed as to what the Bishop means when he says he's exercising his moral obligation in conscience. Perhaps his definition of morality differs from ours. Perhaps he feels an obligation to one segment of the population of this diocese and not a certain minority. And perhaps his conscience is not that little voice of God whispering from within as we have come to know it.

3. A workable plan was established to continue the successful operation of St. Francis Xavier; OPEN TO ALL RACES (including the white majority that is so outstandingly Christian in this diocese) as well as students of diverse beliefs. His Excellency, with the approval of his consultative bodies decided that it is not morally right to operate such an almost total Black facility because those federal HEW, dollars would not continue to roll in if he permitted that situation to exist. Now, we're being punished because the others refuse to cooperate and because we have opened our beautiful St. Francis Xavier to those very same people who just cannot go another Christian mile. We still want to cooperate, but we are opposed to St. Agnes as the facility to house the school for children who wish A Catholic education in this area. We know that St. Francis Xavier is the better facility of the two, and to use that oft-repeated white phrase, "it would be a shame to let such modern facilities give way to an inferior plant."

4. Housing the school at St. Agnes would simply shuffle a predominantly Black student population -- since that appears to be what it will continue

to be unless a WHITE miracle happens -- into another inferior facility which was eliminated by building St. Francis Xavier in the first place, at a great sacrifice to building a new church several years ago.

5. We can probably accept sacrificing the Church, but we will not sacrifice this school to satisfy the Bishop's long-awaited desire to utilize it for his own purposes.

6. Experts and recognized authorities in the field of special education do not recommend confining children classified as special to a narrow, restrictive environment, for they need to come in daily contact with normal persons. Converting St. Francis Xavier to a total special education school would negate all such sound principles. Would not it be better to establish special education classes at several diocesan schools to afford the youngsters normal contacts?

7. The tremendous loss of Black souls will probably increase rapidly from the Catholic environment and Catholic institutions if St. Francis Xavier is phased out in favor of St. Agnes.

8. We are not asking for segregation, nor to discontinue the interparochial establishment, but simply that school be housed here, continuing to also include the Christ Child Center. We have the larger enrollment, the better more modern facility, therefore practical sensible reason dictates that it be utilized for the interparochial school.

9. The friendly, encouraging and genuinely sincere atmosphere of St. Francis Xavier is much more conducive to academic achievements than students are presently experiencing at St. Agnes.

10. The Holy Family Sisters have devoted ninety-one years of their apostolate to St. Francis Xavier, establishing this institution for Blacks when no other Catholic school would open its "Christian" doors in the true spirit

of Brotherhood. Are they now going to be literally disinherited and forced out of this diocese? And what of the Josephite Fathers? [Who founded and maintained the parish?]

11. If the composition of the various diocesan consultative boards is not based on racial percentages, then our demand for more Blacks on the Diocesan Pastoral Council and the Diocesan Board of Education should be honored, as it is obvious that we are not adequately represented. This also holds true for several other diocesan bodies.

Should the Bishop follow through with his proposals, then we have no other choice but to execute these options:

1. We will apply pressure from every point to force the Bishop to realize that a grave injustice is being done to this school and its people;

2. We will contact all available news media and inform them of the continuous injustices the Bishop and his kind have constantly and unnecessarily pawned upon us;

3. We strongly suggest that every parent and adult concerned about the future of St. Francis Xavier write the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) and other federal officials about this continuous unfairness, making known that federal money is being accepted without giving Blacks a fair share. In fact, we feel that we are being kicked around because we are in the minority;

4. We will boycott any and all diocesan activities and refuse to support special collections not designed for our particular Church parishes. Moreover, we will simply disown Bishop Tracy as the spiritual head of our souls in this diocese;

5. In the first place, we demand of the Bishop a definite, concrete date -- IN WRITING --

> for his phase out proposal of the St. Francis Xavier School. If a definite plan is not forthcoming -- IN WRITING -- by September 17, 1971, we will urge that all Blacks in the St. Francis Xavier and St. Agnes Schools withdraw on that date. Furthermore, the Holy Family Sisters housed at St. Francis Xavier will pack up and walk out permanently; also, Holy Family Sisters stationed in other parts of this diocese plan to do likewise if they are not accorded the recognition and dignity that other religious orders are given. The Sisters have emphatically stated, with approval of their Mother Superior, that they are tired of being kicked around and abused by religious tyrants who hide behind clerical collars and make pious statements about Christian charity and racial justice.
>
> We state emphatically that we are not espousing segregation, nor are we opposed to integration and an interparochial plan. We are insisting, however that if one facility is to be used to house the school, that the great St. Francis Xavier be accorded that honor.
>
> "All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing." (Edmund Burke)
>
> We are good men, and we do not wish to witness the triumph of evil, therefore we plan to do something to prevent it. And this will be accomplished with a great demonstration of unity.

In response to this unprecedented reaction, the bishop stated that he had not been announcing any decision at the meeting of the interparochial school board, but merely "thinking out loud." In a communication dated September 15, 1971, he informed the St. Francis Xavier Parish Council and the Holy Family Sisters as follows:

> This is to say that I have never proposed to the Diocesan Board of Education that the St. Agnes-St. Francis Xavier Interparochial School be unified under the St. Agnes roof.
>
> This proposal was briefly considered but only in the event that the two parishes were unified.

> However, on reflection and consultation, it was quickly rejected by me as unworkable, and so, it never went to the Board.
>
> The Diocesan Board of Education and the Diocesan Pastoral Council will continue to work with Brother Felician and me and the two parishes to achieve a practical and fair solution to the problems confronting us after giving full hearings, as has always been out policy, to all persons concerned and affected by our decisions.

Two days later, the St. Francis Xavier Parish Council and the Superior General of the Holy Family Sisters sent Bishop Tracy a letter declaring that his response of September 15 did not provide a statement as to whether St. Francis Xavier School would be kept open and consequently was "totally unacceptable." In accordance with the earlier ultimatum, the parents, students and teachers would desert the school en masse on September 21, 1971, unless the bishop provided a satisfactory response by that time. A meeting in the St. Francis Xavier auditorium was quickly scheduled for Monday, September 20, 1971, and word was sent to the chancery office that the people of the community expected Bishop Tracy to attend. Two previous unsuccessful efforts had been made to meet with him. Our black informants complain that the prelate had taken time that same day to visit a white school recently damaged by Hurricane Edith, but sent word to the St. Francis Xavier meeting that because of prior commitments he would be unable to attend. He sent no one to represent him. Perceiving that they had been rebuffed, between 200 and 300 persons left the mass meeting in automobiles for the elaborate "Catholic Life Center" in Baton Rouge (bitterly described by some blacks as the "Taj Mahal") where the bishop's residence is located. There they demonstrated on his front lawn. The event received front-page attention, complete with pictures, in the Baton Rouge press.

One of the city newspapers reported that:

> Blacks are irate about a number of things, one of which include [sic] the fact that they were virtually ignored by the Bishop who refused, on three separate occasions, to meet with them and discuss their dillemma. The bishop, the [sic] say, has not responded in any fashion by way of a representative or someone from the office. Reports did mention that the Bishop was either

out of town or occupied with other Diocesan matters.

Black catholics are impatient and want action now. This was evidenced at a meeting held this past Monday night at St. Francis Xavier Auditorium.

In utter frustration and disillusionment, the large group of blacks left the meeting and converged enmasse on the grounds of the Capitol Life Center in front of the Bishop's home. Here they prayed under the leadership of Fathers Ennette, chaplain of Southern University; Artis, pastor of St. Paul the Apostle Catholic Church and Brady, pastor of Immaculate Conception Catholic Church.

A group from Southern University's Newman Center led the group in song. The showdown was orderly and was conducted in a religious manner as TV cameras from the local stations snapped pictures. The demonstration ended with the group singing "We Shall Overcome."

It must be noted here that the black catholic protest movement has the support of all the black parishes in Baton Rouge and those in other parts of Louisiana. It should be noted also that black catholics here have the support of the National Office of Black Catholics of Washington, D.C. Representing this organization at the mass meeting on Monday night were Michael St. Julien, who made public their full support; Jim McNeal from the Chicago office and Fr. Augustus Thompson of Washington, D.C. who is now up for archbishop. A standing ovation was accorded Fr. Thompson for his courage and devotion. They also came from Marksville, Mansura and New Orleans.

Significantly, Joe Delpit, Baton Rouge's only black councilman, spoke to the audience and pledged his wholehearted support. Delpit stressed that he is in favor of the protest and reminisced that he remembered when he was a boy, the same school, at one time did not

> approve of his boyish shenanigans, and now he was here to fight for her survival. His presence was felt and gave the audience renewed determination to succeed in their endeavor.
>
> Support also comes from every nun of the order of the Sisters of the Holy Family, who through their faith and hard work have contributed to the growth of the school.
>
> From this corner, it appears that the black catholics and many of their non-catholic friends, who have children attending St. Francis, will not relent one iota. They are in the process of mapping out additional strategic plans to fight the Bishop's proposition of closing St. Francis Xavier. They avow that they will not abide by the diocesan wishes, which the diocesan feels, is the best course to follow.

On the day of the demonstration on his lawn, Bishop Tracy had sent another communication to "the priests, sisters and laity of St. Francis Xavier Parish," stating that no decision in response to the "grave problems" of the parish and its school could be announced until the Diocesan Board of Education, Board of Finance, and Pastoral Council had been consulted. The Bishop then added:

> I think it quite important that all who are interested recall the rather recent record of St. Francis Xavier Church and School, namely this: That as late as 1968 your pastor at the time, Father Vincent Keenan, S.S.J., and your Parish Senate were putting great pressure on me, as Bishop, to close down the St. Francis Xavier program. . . .
>
> It was I, who worked and went out and found the funds ($13,000 in 1970 alone) to keep St. Francis open, against strong opposition from the parishioners themselves. Indeed, from that time on, attendance at Sunday Mass has been dwindling and collections have been falling at St. Francis as more and more parishioners have gone over

> to St. Agnes and asserted their parish membership there. In addition, large numbers of black children left St. Francis School, on their own accord, until St. Agnes School became 45% black or nearly so and St. Francis was reduced to only some 140 students.
>
> Under the circumstances, it seems ironic that my interest in the future of the school should be questioned. When I discover what that future is, I will certainly report it at once to all concerned.

In Baton Rouge, as elsewhere, however, there have been drastic attitudinal changes in the past few years. Many parishioners at St. Francis Xavier seem to have developed a new sense of identity, according to our informants. Many blacks are disillusioned with what they find when transferring to white-dominated churches and schools, and as a consequence, are convinced that they must govern themselves, through their own institutions, at least for some time to come. Integration still seems to be the goal, but a goal to be achieved in such a way that the dignity and autonomy of black people is preserved. What is currently at issue, furthermore, is not only the future of the parish and its school, but the demand by black Catholics for self-determination. They are furious over the fact, as they see it, that whites continue to make vital decisions for them, no matter how well intentioned these decisions may be.

By the time September 21 arrived, the black Holy Family sisters reportedly had concluded that if they deserted the school on that date, in keeping with their earlier declaration, they would merely be "playing into the Bishop's hands" by forcing the school to close and thereby making the building available to him for whatever purposes he had in mind. It would be better, they concluded, to stay on the spot and "fight on the side of the black community." On that date, "the parishioners of St. Francis Xavier Church and concerned white and black parents of St. Francis Xavier School" tendered another bitter statement to Bishop Tracy, declaring that his last communication, like the others, was "totally unacceptable in that it did not answer the basic question addressed to you." Furthermore:

> In this communique to us, you stated that there are grave problems which have developed recently pertaining to the St. Agnes - St. Francis Xavier

Interparochial School. The reasons that grave problems have developed are:

1. There is the fact of your irresponsible act on September 3, 1971 issuing a statement in a formal meeting for which you had no previous consultation with any of your boards.

2. This diocese has a history of a lack of respect for the dignity of black people by making decisions without the knowledge of those concerned. In particular, the decision of the pairing of the two schools was done without the knowledge of the parents of the children involved. We are tired and fed up with this. Obviously, the decisions of the future of St. Francis Xavier are being made even now without consultation with blacks. The limits of our patience have been reached, therefore we will no longer suffer these unchristian acts.

We consider this a gross insult which further demonstrates the relegation to second class citizenship upon black people in this diocese. We will no longer be treated as little children. We are mature enough to make decisions concerning our parish and the future of our children.

You also stated in this communique that it is not clear to you or anyone else about the future of the interparochial school. This future is quite clear to us.

Because of this, we are making the following demands:

1. Keep St. Francis Xavier Church and School opened in its entirety.

2. Within one month, have a permanent interparochial school board elected by parents and proportionate to pupil enrollment by parishes. (Suggested: one representative for each ten pupils.)

3. Have diocesan financial assistance for interparochial school up to the end of school session 1973 during which time the permanent school board will establish a workable plan for the continued self-operation of the school.

4. Create representation of blacks on diocesan boards, especially the diocesan school board and diocesan pastoral council, to be recommended by the black community.

> Because of the urgency of the situation, rising tensions, and our people demanding action, it is of utmost importance that you schedule a meeting with our committee immediately.

On September 30, finally, the Bishop announced that his three consultive bodies had given St. Francis Xavier parishioners basically what they had demanded--at least for the rest of the current year. The diocese was to provide a subsidy of $30,000 to balance the operating budget for the paired schools until June, 1972. The permanent interparochial school board was formed, and assigned the task of solving St. Francis Xavier's fiscal problems beyond the current school year.[45] A little later, two more black members (previously there had been only one) were added to the diocesan board of education.

Subsequently, an SOS (Save Our School) Committee has been formed to raise money through bingo nights, school dances, raffles, appeals to business men and alumni, and other such techniques. Some leaders, purportedly convinced that white diocesan leaders cannot be trusted, are determined to find ways of making the St. Francis Xavier School completely independent financially and administratively. But since the parishioners have such meager incomes (as evidenced by the appearance of their neighborhood, at least) it is difficult to see how this can be done. Realizing the difficulties that face them, some black leaders predict that "Bishop Tracy will get the building by default after a year or two at most."

It must be disillusioning for a bishop who has earned the antagonism of many whites by his pro-black activities to stomach the contention by blacks that he is a paternalist at best or a racist at worst! Perhaps the South is not much different from the North in this particular. Many well-intentioned "liberals" are having trouble accommodating to the rapid attitudinal changes of black Americans. And some "pro-black" white leaders are discovering, with some shock, that they have, indeed, been guilty of a decision-making process that at least conveys a strong impression of paternalism.

As for the "pairing" of St. Augustine (a black school) with Catholic High (a school more than 90 per cent white) in New Roads, it has been well accepted by whites, whose numbers increased from 683 in 1970-71 to 755 in 1971-72. However, the number of black students dropped from 323 in 1970-71 to 172 in 1971-72.

As another complication, diocesan officials report that they encounter financial difficulties when attempting to produce more racial integration on school faculties. Whereas most white Catholic school teachers in the diocese are wives whose husbands are the major breadwinners in their families, most black teachers available to the diocese must support their families themselves. Consequently, it is difficult to hire black teachers without considerably upgrading salaries. However, progress is being made. Whereas the diocese had 28 black teachers during 1970-71 (out of a total teaching staff of approximately 530), the number has risen to 36 during the present school year (1971-72).

The racial paradox of the Diocese of Baton Rouge is no secret to church leaders. As the diocesan superintendent asserted in an interview: "The whites think the diocese is bending over backward for the blacks. The blacks think the diocese is for whites and doesn't care about blacks." Who wants to be a Catholic bishop!

Developments in the Diocese of Lafayette

The Diocese of Lafayette, with 19,472 students in its Catholic schools in 1971-72, enrolls 17.4 per cent of all Catholic school students in Louisiana. Within its boundaries, it is estimated that Catholics comprise at least 50 per cent of the total population. Approximately 25 per cent of these Catholics are black. In 1970-71, the Catholic schools in the diocese enrolled approximately the proportion of black students at the elementary level that statistics on communicants would predict: 25.5 per cent. But at the secondary level, only 15.1 per cent of all students in the Catholic schools of the diocese were black.

But in the light of the unusual proportion of students who are black, the record of the diocese on racial integration is something less than superb. As of 1970-71, none of its white or black students, either in the elementary or in the secondary grades, were in schools displaying a closer approach to racial balance than an 80/20 distribution of white to black or black to white (see Table 3/4). All students fell into the previously defined National Catholic Education Association classifications of "all" or "mostly" white and "all" or "mostly" black. In 1968-69, 51 of the 54 Catholic elementary schools in the diocese (94.4 per cent) were either predominantly or totally white schools with enrollments less than 10 per cent black, or predominantly or totally black schools with enrollments less than 10 per cent white.

Out of the total of 54 elementary schools, 27 (50 per cent) were totally segregated; 14 totally black and 13 totally white. During the same school year (1968-69), all 21 Catholic high schools in the diocese lacked as much as a 90/10 racial mixture, and 7 (33.3 per cent), including 4 exclusively white and 3 exclusively black schools, were totally segregated.

There are numerous possible reasons for this lack of discernible thrust toward racial justice. Some respondents suggest that the bishop has not moved as quickly as he should. Some blame the large population of "Cajuns" in the diocese, who purportedly display a strong element of racial prejudice. The spacial separation of black and white communities in this largely rural part of the state could be a factor. Perhaps blacks in the diocese have been less militant than their brothers elsewhere--at least until recently. In the absence of both divine guidance and more extensive research, we can only speculate.

After the lethargic beginning, some substantial progress was made by 1971-72, when the proportion of elementary Catholic schools displaying less than a 90/10 balance had declined from 94.4 per cent to 69.6 per cent (32 out of 46). The proportion of totally segregated Catholic elementary schools was now down from 50 per cent to 26.1 per cent, including 6 exclusively white and 6 exclusively black schools. At the secondary level in 1971-72, one school had achieved a significant racial balance (238 whites and 143 blacks), at least partly because of a lawsuit to be described later. An additional 2 high schools out of a total of 19 (10.5 per cent) had progressed somewhat beyond a 90/10 racial mixture. Four schools (2 white and 2 black) out of 19 (21.1 per cent) were totally segregated, as compared with 33.3 per cent in 1968-69.

In 1968-69, the proportion of students who were black was 27.5 per cent in the elementary Catholic schools and 16.8 per cent in the secondary Catholic schools. In 1970-71, as we have seen, it had declined to 25.5 per cent in the elementary Catholic schools and 15.1 per cent in the secondary Catholic schools. By 1971-72, the proportion was down to 24.2 per cent at the elementary level and up slightly to 16.4 per cent at the secondary level. We suspect that the latter increase is another result of the lawsuit. The continuing decrease at the elementary level is at least partially a result of the disadvantages to blacks, described later, that accrue in the process of school "pairings" and "consolidations."

The total Catholic school enrollment in the Diocese of Lafayette was 22,155 in 1966-67. In 1967-68, the student population declined to 21,414, 96.7 per cent of the 1966-67 total. A further drop-off occurred in 1968-69, to 19,856, or 89.6 per cent of the 1966-67 total.

In 1969-70, however, as elsewhere in the state, Catholic school enrollment in the Diocese of Lafayette rebounded, rising to 21,727, 98.1 per cent of the 1966-67 figure, a sufficient increase virtually to erase the losses of the previous two years. Attributing much of the increase to the efforts of white families to escape racial integration in public schools, officials of the diocese then attempted to stem the influx. In 1970-71, perhaps partly as a result of the new admission policies, enrollment fell off slightly, to 21,136, or 95.4 per cent of the 1966-67 figure. In 1971-72, the total dropped more drastically, to 19,472, or 87.9 per cent of the 1966-67 figure.

In January 1970, about half-way through the critical 1969-70 school year, when many white families through Louisiana apparently were seeking an alternative to desegregated public schools, the Lafayette Diocesan Board of Education adopted a new policy on student admissions:

> 1. The present policy remains in effect for the remainder of the 1970-71 school term.
>
> 2. Schools not being racially merged in admitting students for the 1971-72 school year are prohibited from admitting into grades 2 through 8 and 10 through 12 students who have not previously attended a Catholic school, or whose brothers or sisters have not previously attended, or do not attend at the present time, a Catholic school.

3. Schools not being racially merged but whose faculty is integrated (10% of the full-time faculty or one full-time teacher of the minority race, whichever is greater), or whose student body is at least 5% integrated, may apply to the Diocesan Superintendent for bona fide exceptions to the policy. The application is to be submitted by a racially-mixed committee of at least three members established by the local school board. No school will be allowed to enroll more than 35 students to a class. The establishment of new sections of classes is forbidden.

4. Schools are prohibited from admitting students who reside in a civil parish or city other than the parish or city of the school unless the school has, as a matter of policy, accepted students from these civil parishes and cities prior to the 1968-69 school term.

5. There is to be no new construction of classrooms.

6. Schools being racially merged, in whole or in part, and schools being zoned, are not subject to this policy. They are bound, however, to refuse admission to students seeking refuge from school integration.

About a year later (on January 14, 1971), the policy was liberalized to allow students into grades 2 through 8 and 10 through 12 who had not previously attended a Catholic school if their brothers or sisters were attending or had attended. The amendment allowed other exceptions for Catholic schools with "sufficiently integrated" faculties and student bodies.

The above-cited enrollment totals suggest that the diocese did not move with sufficient speed and force to avoid an inflow of integration-fleeing whites to Catholic schools in the 1969-70 school year, but did manage to halt the trend by the fall of 1970. However, a number of dramatic developments within the diocese are hidden behind the diocese-wide figures, as later passages will indicate.

Attempts by diocesan leaders to counteract the influx of white students in 1969-70 were not the first steps taken in the Diocese of Lafayette toward racial justice. The Bishop of Lafayette, like the Archbishop of New Orleans, was making strong statements on the topic long before any overt response was detectable in the churches and schools under his jurisdiction. On October 16, 1959, Bishop Maurice Schexnayder of the Diocese of Lafayette reacted to "recent, unwarranted, and unchristian interference by certain persons with participation of Negroes in religious instruction through diocesan marriage courses" by declaring such interference to be "a reserved sin," from which only the bishop himself could grant absolution. On April 25, 1962, the prelate responded forcefully to an incident in which a church usher asked a black woman and her son to leave a white Catholic church. To the priests of the diocese he wrote:

> Incidents like these must no longer occur in the diocese no matter what an individual usher or parishioner may think. You are hereby directed to advise your ushers at their next regular meeting and in case you do not meet regularly, you are to call a special meeting and to inform them to that effect. This applies even in the case when there is good reason to believe that one or more Negroes purposely comes to a church to occasion some disturbance.

One August 21, 1963, Bishop Schexnayder distributed a strongly worded condemnation of racial discrimination, directing that all priests in the diocese read it from their pulpits. On July 29, 1964, calling for acts of reparation in connection with an attack upon a priest who was working among black Catholics, he extended the category of "reserved sins" to apply to "all those who interfere with our colored Catholics in the practice of their religion or who join groups whose purpose it is to oppose the teaching of Mother Church regarding racial relations."

On March 1, 1965, the diocesan school superintendent gave written assurance to officials of the National School Lunch Program that the diocese would comply with requirements of the Department of Agriculture forbidding any racial discrimination under the program. Several similar assurances were filed during the next five years. In 1965, officials of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) began to engage diocesan leaders in discussions concerning the requirements of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. On May 25 of the same year, the Bishop of Lafayette directed the pastors of Catholic schools in the City of Lake Charles and the civil parishes of Calcasieu, Lafayette, and St. Landry "to accept into their schools all qualified students for the 1965-66 school year," apparently because the public schools in those areas were beginning to desegregate. "As public schools are desegregated in the remaining civil parishes of the diocese," the bishop stated, "I will direct pastors of Catholic schools in these parishes to accept all qualified students into their schools."

On May 10, 1967, the diocese submitted to HEW a school desegregation plan which promised, among other things, that 2,000 black students would be enrolled in racially mixed schools by September, 1970. Looking forward to the fall of 1969, when the public schools in the area would take definitive steps toward desegregation, the Auxiliary Bishop of the diocese distributed a letter, to be read from all pulpits on July 20, 1969 urging all people of the state, especially all Catholics, "to join hands in one noble effort to solve once and for all this nagging problem of school-desegregation, and to solve it as an expression of their faith in God and their commitment to the Constitution of the United States."

On May 14, 1970, toward the end of the critical 1969-70 school year, Diocesan School Board issued a number of directives: The faculty of every school in the Diocese was to be integrated as of September, 1970. In schools whose faculties had already been fully selected for the fall of 1970, the integration was to occur by September, 1971, at the latest. A "joint racial educational program" was to be conducted in every community under the direction of a local "Committee for Racial Justice"; through the program, "the parents will be informed of the plan of integration for their school in all its aspects, and greater understanding between pastors, principals, and parents will be fostered." All "dual school situations" in the Diocese were to be obliterated by September, 1972, at the latest.

Meeting again on August 6, 1970, the Diocesan School Board stepped up the desegregation time-table, directing that all "dual school situations" be removed by the beginning of the 1971-72 school term.

As in the Archdiocese of New Orleans, for several years developments in the schools themselves reflected little of what the bishop and his staff members were from time to time promising and demanding. Whereas the diocese of Lafayette had promised that at least 2,000 black students would be enrolled in integrated schools by the fall of 1970, for example, there were only 961 black students (29.4 per cent of all black students in the schools of the diocese) in integrated Catholic schools when that time arrived.

As for the maintenance of all-black and all-white Catholic schools just a few blocks from each other, there was further ground for pessimism in the fall of 1970 with respect to the avowed diocesan goal of eliminating "racial dualism," except, of course, for announced plans for school "pairings" in the fall of 1971. Understandably, some Catholics were dissatisfied with the pace at which the diocese was moving, and in some areas the discontent, fed by special circumstances, flared into protests and even more drastic actions against the diocese. The Opelousas Lawsuit initiated by black parents and naming the Diocesan School Board as one of the defendants is the most dramatic of these actions (cf. Ch. 8). But at a local level the problems of this transitional period find concrete exemplification in the following condensation of a case study:

Transition Policies and Pressures: St. Genevieve's Elementary and Tuerling High School*

These two schools are operated by St. Genevieve's Catholic Church in Lafayette, Louisiana. It is an all-white parish and its schools are staffed by all-white religious and lay teachers.

During the period 1966-71 St. Genevieve's Elementary School has experienced three different stages in its enrollment patterns: (a) a steady enrollment decline from 382 to 332 pupils between 1966-69; (b) a significant increase of 114 students to an enrollment of 446 students in 1969; (c) a stable enrollment of approximately 440 students from 1970 to date.

At the high school level the pattern has been somewhat different. Thus, the enrollment statistics at Tuerling describe a gradual increase from 213 students in 1964-65 to 275 students in 1967-68, a significant jump to 404 students in 1969-70, and a decline to 342 students in 1971-72.

The dramatic and central fact, of course, is the enrollment jump in the school years, 1969-70. Nor is this a coincidence. The Supreme Court decision of 1969 requiring the desegregation of public schools and the establishment of a unitary school system placed white Catholic schools in the position of becoming "havens for racists". This possibility was anticipated by Lafayette Diocesan officials and policies were formulated which were designed to neutralize it. Specifically, only those students would be accepted whose parents could convince school officials that they were motivated by "quality educa-

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*This section is a condensed and revised version of a case study prepared by Rev. John Walsh (Lafayette, La.).

> tion" rather than "racial" reasons and/or parents from outside parishes where the closure and pairing of parochial schools so reduced facilities as to deny children an opportunity for a Catholic education.
>
> At St. Genevieve's the "newcomers" were relatively few but at Tuerling High School a large number of students were accepted who bussed to school from Opelousas. The principal there felt that the parents of these students were not necessarily racists but were motivated by academic concerns. But black Catholics refused to accept this view. Their feeling is that the acceptance of the white students from Opelousas was done in a deceptive way and that it deepened the skepticism of blacks concerning "the sincerity of a Church that claims to be Catholic but seems to be white." The withdrawal of most of these students from Opelousas shortly thereafter has not noticeably eased the situation. St. Genevieve's and Tuerling are open to black students but in 1971-72 only two (2) were enrolled in the former and only six (6) in the latter. Moreover, attempts at the consolidation of all Catholic schools at the secondary level have failed to win either financial or inter-racial support. Many white parents want segregated schools for their children for racial and non-racial reasons. And black Catholic school officials and parents have resisted consolidation because they fear that the tuition costs will price black students out of Catholic schools. And there, stalemated, the situation still stands.

The experience of the diocese with respect to the"pairing" or "consolidating" of black and white Catholic schools has been so consistent, both within the diocese and in terms of experiences elsewhere in Louisiana, that it is probably sufficient for present purposes to report, as in the Diocese of Baton Rouge, that the arrangement usually takes place largely at the expense of black Catholics. So far as we can determine, the virtually universal pattern in the Diocese of Lafayette has been to close the black school whenever one of the two schools must be closed. Black parents find that their tuition fees have increased, often to a point beyond their means. Most whites seem to remain under the new situation so long as they are in the majority, but many blacks drop out because of increased costs, the prejudice manifested by whites, inconveniences associated with distance, and other factors.

As of 1971-72, 8 elementary schools and 2 high schools in the Diocese of Lafayette are still totally black or virtually so. Some of these schools remain because it seems certain to diocesan and local officials that the act of "pairing" or "consolidating" them with predominantly white schools will serve to deny a Catholic education to most of the black students who now attend them--for fiscal and other reasons. Some of these schools are in exceedingly precarious financial condition. In one instance which we studied closely (and there could be more schools in this category), an all-black school seems to be the main source of hope for grossly disadvantaged black Catholics in a pathetic isolated community:

Bellevue: A Rural, Black Community*

> Bellevue is a rural, largely black Catholic community. Its heart is Christ the King Elementary School. And its moving spirit is the principal of this school, 62 year old Sister Jane Frances Evans, S. S. F. Take away Christ the King School and Bellevue will die.
>
> The village, and it isn't really a village but an unincorporated rural settlement, is located about six miles northwest of Grand Coteau in Southwest Louisiana. Politically, Bellevue is a part of Opelousas, some miles away. It has a population of approximately 127 families or 625 people of whom 480 are black and 145 white. Religiously it is a Catholic community with only five black Protestant families and no white Protestant families. But it is a black Catholic community. The congregation of Christ the King Church in Bellevue is black. The white Catholic families attend church at Sacred Heart, Grand Coteau, or in Lewisburg.
>
> Life in Bellevue is not easy. A life-long black resident describes it in these words:
>
> > Most of the people at Bellevue work by the day for big farmers--say about 60% of the people. They used to farm on share, but things got so bad for the little farmers they gave up their own little farming by share and work by the day.
> >
> > A few work in Opelousas--about 4 or 5; or in Lafayette--about 5 or 6, but around Bellevue there are no jobs except working by the day for big families. They have a bunch of colored people down in my neighborhood own their own property. They own their own farms, and they farm or rent their land. About fifteen Negro families in all own their own farms. Right off the chime I would have to think about it. Yep,

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*This section is a condensed and revised version of a case study prepared by Sister Aline Boutte, O. Carm. (Lafayette, La.).

> I would say not more than about four or five others not in my neighborhood own their own farm--about twenty-five or thirty acres of land.
>
> About six other families own or are paying on their homes; the rest have to pay rent or else they live in a house owned by the big farmer. About 70 or 75% live in houses owned by a big farmer. About 25 or 30% of Negro families are paying rent on homes owned by white property owners in Bellevue. For example, one man has about 800 acres sweet potatoes, 1200 acres cotton, 6 or 700 acres of soybeans. They are the onliest two big guys around here that I know except for another white man who raises soybeans, 1500 acres. These three men own most of the land in the Bellevue Area. Besides this they have other land, such as in Lewisburg, which is four miles from Bellevue.
>
> So some of the people in Bellevue work on the land either in Bellevue or Lewisburg. They have a truck and take the people to work. Also around Lawtell (6 miles away); and Opelousas (6 miles).
>
> Before I owned my farm, I was working on thirds for a White man. I have owned my own farm for 22 years. I worked hard and I saved my money so I could put a down payment on my land. I bought the land from a White man who was owning about 5 or 6 hundred of acres at that time. But he started failing because he had a great amount of taxes and the profit he was getting on his share was not meeting his costs. So instead of losing the land he wanted to sell.

Bellevue, then, is a poor, rural and black and in these respects it is not unlike other communities in Louisiana and throughout the Southeast. But Bellevue is different. For 28 years it has had Christ the King Elementary School and for 25 of these years it has had Sister Jane Frances.

Christ the King School opened in 1942 with a faculty of four black sisters from the Congregation of the Holy Family. It was the educational aim of the newly formed parish established to provide the black Catholics of Grand Coteau with their own religious community. Sister Jane Frances describes her first impressions.

> On arriving in Opelousas by train, we were met by Father Thensted, the pastor of the mission. We got into his army station wagon and headed for the mission. It seemed as if we had been traveling for hours before we reached the convent which was a four-room house, with no shades in the windows. There was a parlor divided in half--one part we used as a chapel; a small dining room; a kitchen; and two bedrooms--two beds in a room.
>
> The little church was sadder looking than the house, with a half-blown off steeple. The little three-room school was worst of all. There were no desks in the school. There were long benches for the children to sit on. While teaching them, and there was a necessity to write, the children knelt on the floor and wrote on the seats of the benches.
>
> After looking around and seeing the many, many things that had to be done, my heart trembled, and I felt like taking the train and going back to where I came from. My second thought was 'God is everywhere.' I began to think what should be done: First, meet the people and find out their condition. We started to teach them how to live and profit under such poor conditions. The people were very docile and wanted to learn how to live the proper way.

Then, things began to happen because Sister Jane Frances made them happen. Together with her colleagues she inspired the people to a concern for self-improvement and to the rebuilding of a school and of a community. A benefactor was persuaded to donate the steel frame for a gymnasium and classrooms were added with the money and the work contributed by the men and women of the community. In 1947-48 the convent and the church were completed, in 1948-49 playground equipment was acquired, and in the early 1950's wells were dug to provide water. Then for five years (1958-63) things came to a standstill. School enrollment declined and the mission was at a point where it was about to close down. Sister Jane Frances had been transferred and with her departure the community lost its leaders. Fortunately, she returned in 1963 and things once again started to happen. A new library, kitchen, lunchroom, lavatories, and classroom were provided by 1968 and in 1971 a very large classroom was built for the Sesame Street Day-Care program.

This record of achievement does not, however, adequately tell the whole story. During this 28 year period the enrollment in Christ the King School increased from an average of 147 students between 1942-1947 to an enrollment of 204 students (28 of these in the Sesame Street Day-Care Program) in 1971-72. Moreover, this growth was financed mainly by the thousands of nickels and dimes collected by the members of the community through bazaars, raffles, and dances. Of course, there was the tuition income, too, but it was a tuition scaled to the poverty of the community. Between 1942-47 it was $1.40 per child per year; between 1947-71, it was $3.25; now, because of spiraling costs, it is $5.00 per child per year. Some private benefactors, state aid for textbooks and library books, and very limited federal aid through Titles I and II have also helped but not substantially. The school is so financially impoverished that it daily faces the crisis of survival.

The quality of the education provided by this struggling school has improved in recent years but it is "not top-notch". Still it has prepared and motivated some black boys and girls to go on to high school rather than to "drop-out". And it has eliminated "the failure syndrome" which has plagued so many poor, black children in the North as in the South.

The more significant fact, however, is that Christ the King School and Sister Jane Frances have given Bellevue a communal identity and a purpose. The school and its teachers, especially Sister Jane Frances, have somehow recharged and changed the total community. A white social worker says:

> I am absolutely astounded to find out that there are still people in the world like the ones out there. The children do

> not seem to mind school. They seem to enjoy it. Bellevue School has been made the focus of social life, has influenced the people to raise their standards, morals, and everything else.
>
> Before the school came they were living in non-legal union, 14 and 15 year old girls were getting pregnant, they were fighting all the time, and now you cannot find a more unified community.
>
> If Bellevue School would close, I think that this would be the worst thing that could happen to that community, because that school is what is holding that community together, and it would probably go back to what it was. It is doing what OEO (Poverty Program) is trying to do, and as far as I know there has been none of this Federal money under the Poverty Program out in Bellevue.

Another person familiar with the community observes that

> If we close this school these people would revert to the easy life of carelessness they lived before the Sisters came. They would be used and exploited without limit, because of their remoteness to towns. Psychologically they would lose interest in the better or higher values in life. I have seen a man and woman come to the convent asking the Sister to read and interpret a letter for them, the terms of which were incomprehensible to them.
>
> Sister was able to explain meanings to them, and advise them as to which would be better for them in their present situation.
>
> If the school is closed, these people will lose what little hope and gain they have thus far acquired. The pupils presently in school will be far better off than their parents. But it will take at

> least another generation of children to have faith in the world's philosophy and accept it as applying to them also.
>
> The Black man in these parts is unable as yet to help his Black Brother. So the people as a whole depend on the Sisters for everything.
>
> Why can't they go to the Public Schools? Perhaps the best answer is: Their poverty would lead to humiliations by contrast. This challenge might be so heavy on the minds of the pupils that it could do more damage than the knowledge they acquire could reward. They would be out of their element too soon. Perhaps another generation is needed to make class amalgamation possible.
>
> Mentally these children are not backward. Many have an IQ equal to that of white pupils in the same grade. That they are not demanding as are the White students suggests their rustic ignorance of possibilities. The Sisters are capable of obtaining these special helps. They are in a position to make inquiries and to give suggestions as needed. By removing the Sisters and this school, these culture-hungry people will be deprived of this assistance.

Still another person interviewed evaluates the school's role in these terms.

> It has helped the parents to realize that the students can be an asset to them only if their children further their education. The parents would tend to keep the children at home if the school would not be there. The school being there "forces" the parents to send the children to school. This is unique--a public school would not have the same effect. The parents would not respond to a plea from the public school to send children to school.

> One of the main things that Bellevue School has done is to give the children the opportunity to go on to school, because the educational background of parents is very low, and they would not hesitate to keep a child out of school if the school would not be in the area (like Bellevue School is). There is a young lady from Bellevue, age 14, presently attending Sunset High who is often forced to stay at home to help her father dig potatoes. If it were not for Sister Jane Frances, there would be many more in this situation. If they are forced by Sr. Jane Frances to go to school in the early years, the child will force the parents to let him continue school--or the parents will WANT to continue sending them in later years.

Much the same view is expressed by a member of the St. Landry Parish School Board.

> I have had a chance to visit the school, and I have seen evidence that the people of the community have helped to build. There has been a lot of effort within the school and also from the community itself. I have nothing but good things to say about the school. It is well run and well managed. You can see from observation what is going on. We do not have any problems with the kids going there, and I do not have this everywhere. I definitely feel that the school is a part of the things which I see in Bellevue which I think are very good. They do not have much money to spend, and stretch the dollar well. If Bellevue School would not be there, I think that some students would be handicapped. I always like the community school, for younger children, especially. Religious training is good and education is good. School, Church, and Home are the community, and there would be a breakdown in Bellevue if the school were not there. The school in Bellevue is the center; the Church is a part.

> I am speaking as a person in public education, but I feel strongly about this little school, and I think it is serving its purpose. Knowing Sister, I think that her philosophy is good. She gets out and hustles a lot of things to help build the school and give a well-rounded education--academically, religiously, and vocationally.

Finally, we have the achievements and the problematic future of Bellevue summarized by an official of the Lafayette Diocesan Catholic School Board.

> Bellevue, to me is Sister Jane Frances. Christ the King Mission School is that nun, and without her my feelings would change. That is the basic response that I have. I think the school is Sr. Jane Frances. I say this because of the way the people feel about Sister and because of my admiration for her. Maybe another principal would get the same response. I strongly feel that it would not be the same without Sister Jane Frances. She has that dimension of love that is so important in education. She has worked to get the people to send their children to school and has helped eradicate TB. She would get out to encourage the parents to send the children to school instead of the fields, and she has done this type of thing. Let's face it: St. Landry Parish (County) has not helped the Blacks much.
>
> I do not think that Christ the King, because of its geographical arrangement, promotes segregation. If this were a moral issue, we would have pushed it further. I would hesitate to go in there and change anything without some assurance that the children would not be pushed out of Catholic Education.
>
> We would not want to close down Christ the King, and we think if we try to pair it with St. Ignatius in Grand Coteau it would close down:
>
> 1. Because Black people in Bellevue would not be able to pay the

> tuition--$14.00 per month.
>
> 2. St. Ignatius children would refuse to go out to Bellevue--(communities put mentality miles between them).
>
> Given all that, we conclude that we will not close it down. But how long will it keep going? Or will we persuade Sister that the children will be better off elsewhere? If the aid does come, I believe Sister could upgrade the school.
>
> I have sort of indicated that there must be a sort of Jane Frances for Christ the King School to succeed. I do not know. Maybe another Sister could give the school the same character that it has now.

The question remains: Will there be a place in Louisiana's educational program for other Bellevues, for other Christ the King Schools, and for other Sister Jane Frances'?

Developments in the Diocese of Alexandria

Student enrollment in the Catholic schools of the Alexandria Diocese, which covers a large territory in the northern part of Louisiana, hit a peak of 12,366 in 1963-64, up from 12,182 the year before (excluding special education classes). By the time of the 1968-69 school year, five years later, enrollment had dropped by an alarming 28.7 per cent, to 8,812. During the next year (1969-70), plainly a result, diocesan officials report, of efforts to integrate the public schools under court order, there was a net influx of 1,061 students to the Catholic schools, for an enrollment increase of 12.0 per cent. The inflow that apparently resulted from the attempt of white families to escape public school integration was greater than these figures suggest, for it was partially obscured by a loss of enrollment in the all-black Catholic schools of the diocese.

The changes were particularly dramatic in Shreveport, reportedly the only city in northern Louisiana that is experiencing typical big-city racial problems. In the two all-black Catholic schools in Shreveport--Blessed Sacrament and Notre Dame--enrollment dropped by more than 2 per cent and 10 per cent, respectively, while all predominantly white

Catholic schools save one were expanding, most of them very dramatically. To cite a few examples: St. Joseph in Shreveport, which enrolled 255 whites and 4 blacks during 1968-69, expanded by 45 per cent in the following year. St. Theresa, which enrolled 153 whites and 10 blacks in 1968-69, expanded by more than 32 per cent in the following year. St. John, which enrolled 288 whites and 17 blacks in 1968-69, also expanded by more than 32 per cent in the following year. St. Pius X, which enrolled 180 whites and 7 blacks in 1968-69, expanded by more than 30 per cent during the following year. St. Catherine, with 273 whites and 17 blacks during 1968-69, expanded by more than 25 per cent.

It would be difficult to argue that the sudden attractiveness of Catholic schools in Alexandria diocese (and especially in Shreveport) was the result of a revival of religious conviction, or that local school officials simply did not notice what was occurring, for many of the new white patrons were not Catholics. To return, for example, to the five white schools in Shreveport discussed earlier: St. Joseph had 8 nonCatholic students in 1968-69, but 139 in 1969-70 (more than 17 times as many). St. Theresa had 9 nonCatholic students in 1968-69, but 30 (more than 3 times as many) in 1969-70. St. John had 5 nonCatholic students in 1968-69, but 125 (25 times as many) in 1969-70. St. Catherine had 20 nonCatholic students in 1968-69, but 50 in 1969-70.

Diocesan officials claim they were preoccupied early in the 1969-70 school year with the consequences of the legislative battle to provide state aid to nonpublic schools, and thus did not realize what was happening to enrollment. These leaders soon encountered much criticism, however, for allegedly maintaining convenient havens for segregationists at a time when public schools were attempting to integrate. On January 15, 1970, the Conference of Religious Major Superiors of Women in Louisiana (later renamed the Louisiana Leadership Conference of Religious Women) expressed serious concern over developments of this kind. The Conference passed the following resolution, among others: "We will, furthermore, after serious study and adequate consideration, withdraw from a school whose increased enrollment indicates that the Catholic school is becoming a haven for those children whose parents oppose integration and who evade governmental efforts to provide integration in the public schools." A little later, all the teaching nuns withdrew from one school in the diocese--St. Mary's in Natchitoches, a predominantly white school that accepted a large number of new white students, including many nonCatholics, during 1969-70 and 1970-71.

On January 18, 1970, the four bishops of Louisiana made statements strongly supporting the desegregation efforts of public educators. Simultaneously, the Superintendent of Schools of the Alexandria Diocese informed pastors and school principals that:

> . . . This office feels that no additional students should be admitted to our schools at this time. The only possible exception would be from those families who have recently moved into your area and whose children have previously attended Catholic schools.
>
> We are now considering several admission policies which can be used in your preregistration for next year. At any rate, we must avoid at all costs even the appearance of the use of our schools to circumvent the law.

On January 27, 1970, officials of the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare conveyed a letter of concern to the Alexandria diocese, asking for appropriate statistics. HEW later extracted from diocesan officials, as the price of eligibility for federal funds, a written commitment to the elimination of racial "dualism."

The new admission policies of the Alexandria diocese, ready for application by March 1, 1970, included the following provisions:

> Students presently in attendance at a school normally are to be registered first. Registration is then to be opened to other children residing in the church parish. Generally, preference is to be given to the brothers and sisters of presently enrolled students...
>
> With the exception of the normal progression of students presently enrolled, no school is to open new classrooms in grades 2 through 8 and grades 10 through 12 without the explicit permission of the Most Reverend Bishop...

> Local school board policy on admission and maximum class size should not be altered simply to accommodate those seeking transfer from the local public school system...
>
> Elementary students are not permitted to transfer to a parochial school outside their home parish except for a good reason and with the permission of both the pastor of the home parish and the pastor or principal of the receiving school. Principals of receiving schools are required to report all such transfers to the Diocesan School Board Office.
>
> School administrators are directed to adhere faithfully to the long-standing policy of this Diocese that all Catholic schools are open to all children regardless of race...
>
> Each school of the Diocese of Alexandria will be responsible for submitting annually to the School Board a report on admission policies and enrollment.

The policies were far from onerous. At points, they appear half-hearted. They provide nothing to stem an inflow of integration-fleeing youngsters in the first and ninth grades. At other grades, new classrooms could not be opened without episcopal permission, but desks rendered empty by the enrollment decline of years past could be filled with any white youngsters at all. In the 1970-71 school year enrollment in the Catholic schools of the diocese expanded modestly, to 10,190. But the increase was most noticeable in the Shreveport schools, which (as we have seen previously) had experienced a dramatic inflow of white Catholics in 1969-70. The same trend was continuing, for the most part. One predominantly white Catholic school in Shreveport (Holy Rosary) lost some Catholic students during the year (white gaining nine more nonCatholics), but all the other predominantly all-white Catholic schools in the city continued to grow, including the five cited as examples earlier: The total number of students grew from 479 in 1969-70 to 571 in 1970-71 in St. Joseph; from 241 in 1969-70 to 254 in 1970-71 in St. Theresa; from 453 in 1969-70 to 546 in 1970-71 in St. John; from 268 in 1969-70 to 271 in 1970-71 in St. Pius X; and from 389 in 1969-70 to 438 in 1970-71 in St. Catherine.

On February 15, 1971, officials of the Diocese of Alexandria acknowledged that the previously enunciated admission policy had been "insufficient to stem the influx of students for questionable motives." Henceforth, it was announced, the bishop of the diocese would "limit" the construction of ninth-grade classrooms (the ninth-grade level had been excluded from the previous ban), and transfers of nonCatholic students from public schools would be forbidden. However, nonCatholic students who had been enrolled in 1970-71 could be readmitted in 1971-72, new nonCatholics could be accepted in the first and ninth grades (entries in these grades are not regarded as "transfers"), and new first-grade classrooms could continue to be constructed. In April, 1971, the diocese weakened the new provisions, declaring that "whenever it can be shown that nonCatholic families have been benefactors or have otherwise entertained a family tradition linking them to our schools, that these families should be accorded the right to enroll their children in our system." The statement was sufficiently vague to be easily manipulable.

As of the beginning of the 1971-72 school year, the Catholic schools of the Diocese of Alexandria have experienced a modest enrollment decline. The total number of students has dropped to 9,547, as compared with 10,190 in 1970-71. An examination of individual school figures indicates that the urban schools most prominently affected by the earlier influx of white students, including many nonCatholics, have lost patrons, along with the other Catholic schools in the diocese. At this point, however, the decline may be less a consequence of the mild diocesan enrollment restrictions than of a general return to the public schools of whites who fled when desegregation was first enforced, for well-informed leaders in some areas report that the segregation academies, not only the Catholic schools, are in the process of losing white patrons to the public schools. The public schools have now had opportunity to show, in some cases, that desegregation does not mean imminent disaster. In other cases, the destruction of dual public school systems brought only token contacts between blacks and whites; so segregationists may have concluded there is little to fear.

As of the current school year (1971-72), there are still six all-black Catholic schools, eight all-white Catholic schools, and ten virtually all-white Catholic schools (each with ten or fewer black students) in the Diocese of Alexandria. In an additional ten Catholic schools, fewer than 10 per cent of the students are black. However, 8 all-black and 8 all-white Catholic schools have been closed since 1966, and 8 schools have been "consolidated" into 4, presumably in such a way as to effectuate more racial integration. In the Alexandria diocese, as elsewhere in the state, officials report that both black and white students usually drop out when a black school and a white school are "consolidated." Some whites are reluctant to mix with blacks--at least while paying tuition to the school that requires the contact. Some blacks encounter prejudice in the newly integrated school or for other reasons (including several discussed earlier) prefer to limit their exposure to whites.

The Bishop of Alexandria has announced that the Holy Ghost Elementary School in Marksville, one of the remaining all-black Catholic schools, must be "paired" with a white school by September, 1972. It appears that several other all-black schools will be maintained indefinitely. The principal of Notre Dame High School in Shreveport, for example, reportedly insists that the school is performing vital functions for its black constituency, especially since few of its black students could afford the tuition fees charged by the other two Catholic high schools (virtually all-white) in Shreveport. There is apparently little chance of "pairing" Notre Dame with either of the white high schools, since the white patrons are described as adamantly refusing to send their youngsters to "that section." All of the black schools in the diocese are subsidized to some extent by the diocese.

In the light of considerations discussed earlier, there may be no clear warrant for condemning the continued maintenance of several all-black schools in the Diocese of Alexandria, where 15.7 per cent of all Catholic school pupils are black as of 1971-72. However, there is room to argue that more energetic policies might have produced a considerably greater degree of racial balance in many Catholic schools than is currently evident. In the vast majority of the "desegregated" schools in the diocese, "integration" has not proceeded beyond tokenism. Perhaps the point at which diocesan leaders are most vulnerable to criticism concerns the weak and lagging efforts they made to block the surge of white applicants, including many nonCatholic students, at a time when whites in the area were upset over the desegregation of the public schools. Perhaps this passivity is partly attributable to the personality of the bishop, who has been described as "lovable" and "loving," but reluctant to judge the motives or "force" the attitudes of would-be school patrons. Perhaps if we understood adequately the social climate of northern Louisiana, we would conclude that the bishop and his educational officials moved as quickly as parishioner opinion would allow. But the orderly way in which public schools in the area were desegregated seems somewhat persuasive to the contrary.

In defense of diocesan leaders, however, we may point to evidence in Table 3/4 that, in the Catholic elementary schools, at least, their efforts at integration stand up fairly well in contrast with dioceses that have more black Catholic constituents. Table 3/9 indicates, further, that the commitment of Catholic schools in the Diocese of Alexandria to black students was greater than the proportion of blacks among the faithful of the diocese would lead one to expect in 1970-71. But that dedication may be slipping. The proportions of black students in the system (including both elementary and secondary levels) were 18.2 per cent in 1967-68, 21.9 per cent in 1968-69, 19.1 per cent in 1969-70, 16.3 per cent in 1970-71, and 15.7 per cent in 1971-72.

The following excerpt from a case study of Shreveport's nonpublic school situation recognizes some of the regional, religious, and racial dimensions of the situation.

Nonpublic Schools in Shreveport*

> Shreveport's population of 182,064 (1970) included the largest single block of the area's Catholics but they still constituted a distinct minority. Religiously, Baptists make up the majority of the city's residents, both black and white.
>
> Up until 1969 the educational consequences of this population composition appear in the relatively small number of nonpublic schools in the city, and these mainly Catholic. Shreveport was a public school community, educationally segregated by race and the same was true in the Catholic school sector.
>
> The Supreme Court's requirement for school integration provoked initial massive resistance and resulted in the establishment of "segrega-

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*This section is a condensed and revised version of a case study prepared by Jessie Coleman and Wade Robinson (Shreveport, La.)

> tionist" school and in the flight of some white students, Catholic and nonCatholic, to parochial schools. But things have calmed down. Integration is still the exception rather than the rule in Catholic schools partly because some black Catholic schools have insisted on the continuing importance of their roles for the Church and for the black community. But the relatively small numbers involved in nonpublic schools and the growing acceptance of unitary education in the public school system have dulled the sensitivities of most citizens to the problem.

RACE AND THE NONCATHOLIC NONPUBLIC SCHOOLS

Louisiana's State Department of Education gathers systematic information only from the nonpublic schools that apply for state approval. To explore the enrollment trends reflected in chapter 1, we found it necessary (and sufficient) to utilize the official state figures, at least so far as (a) total enrollment in nonpublic schools and (b) enrollment in nonCatholic nonpublic schools were concerned. The data demonstrated that the nonCatholic nonpublic schools from which the state was obtaining enrollment figures almost doubled in size as a total group (achieving an enrollment gain of 90.3 per cent over the previous year) during 1969-70, the year in which racial desegregation began in earnest in Louisiana's public schools. We must now attempt to ascertain more accurately the magnitude, recent growth or decline, and racial character of the total collectivity of nonCatholic nonpublic schools in Louisiana. To do this would until recently have been no small task, since no one had been gathering information from all these schools, and since many of them exhibit a notable aversion to people with note pads. The latter tendency is understandable, for as we shall see, most schools by far in this group are completely segregated racially. Consequently, their leaders may think it wise to maintain a low profile.

We were exceedingly fortunate in this regard to discover that the Information Center on School Desegregation of the Public Affairs Research Council (PAR) of Louisiana in

Baton Rouge had recently completed a study (a copy of which was provided to us upon request) of public school desegregation in the state, and was in the process of completing an extensive data-gathering effort with respect to Louisiana's nonpublic schools. So far as the state's many nonCatholic nonpublic schools were concerned, PAR was obtaining most of its data through the "visiting teachers" (essentially attendance officers) and census takers in each of the civil parishes in the state. The task had not been entirely completed when we were forced to terminate our own work, but PAR very courteously made available all data they had acquired up to that point. Since, at our request, PAR assembled in great haste the tabulations from which our own data are largely derived, and since we labored under extreme time pressures in restructuring the figures for our purposes, it is inevitable that minor errors may have crept in, despite the degree of double-checking that was feasible. We are confident, however, concerning the conclusions later offered, because adequate allowances for error have been made.

While PAR was gathering the above-mentioned data, we engaged in supplementary efforts that subsequently served to eliminate gaps in PAR's tabulations. Data from all Missouri Synod Lutheran elementary and secondary schools were readily obtained from the Synod's Southern District offices in New Orleans. Lists of Seventh-Day Adventist, Episcopal, Calvinist, and Evangelical schools were obtained from the world headquarters of the General Conference of Seventh Day Adventists (Washington, D.C.), the National Association of Episcopal Schools (New York), the National Union of Christian Schools (Grand Rapids, Michigan), and the National Association of Christian Schools (Wheaton, Illinois). A list of several independent schools was obtained from the well known Porter Sargent Handbook of Private Schools. When the 29 Louisiana schools on these lists were contacted individually with a request for very minimal information, only 10 (a disappointing 34.5 per cent) responded.

Ironically, in this study of nonpublic schools, public schoolmen were twice as cooperative. We contacted the 66 public school superintendents in Louisiana, all but two of them in charge of systems coterminous with civil parishes, asking several questions that will be identified and discussed later. Of this group, 45 (68.2 per cent) responded without any follow-up action on our part, though not all respondents replied to all questions. We are grateful to these superintendents.

In addition, we commissioned a case study of an all-white academy recently established in Evangeline (Civil) Parish. Largely because of an explicit refusal by the academy's officials to release any information to our team member, the study could not be completed, though some data were obtained. Finally, we obtained information about some nonCatholic nonpublic schools by means of interviews in many parts of Louisiana. We were successful, fortunately, in obtaining figures from 17 civil parishes in which PAR's efforts up to that point had been unfruitful and we were able to supplement PAR's data in additional civil parishes. Most of the resultant data have been summarized in Tables 3/14 and 3/15, although some details are added in later discussions.

A number of religious groups, such as the Seventh Day Adventists, Calvinist (mainly Christian Reformed), Episcopalians, and Missouri Synod Lutherans, were operating their own elementary and secondary schools long before race-related issues in the South emerged as a possible major motivation. We have chosen, consequently, to analyze separately the schools now sponsored in Louisiana by these "main line" school-sponsoring religious bodies (Table 3/15). Schools under the aegis of religious groups that have not normally maintained day schools of their own during recent times have been included, along with nonsectarian nonpublic schools, in the "private" school category (Table 3/14). As the data will show, the two groups differ at least to a very minor degree in racial composition, as we had anticipated.

Since many figures from individual parishes and schools in Tables 3/14 and 3/15 are estimates, along with all summary data in the tables, the following conclusions must be regarded as approximations, though the notable consistency of the trends mentioned provides rather strong reassurance.

As for the "private" group of schools, Table 3/14 indicates that they are virtually all segregated institutions. Only 6 (3 per cent) of them exhibit any racial integration whatsoever, and in only 2 of the schools (1 per cent) is the degree of racial mixture more than token. The "private" schools in Louisiana are peopled, by and large, by whites rather than blacks. Blacks and Indians constitute only 3 per cent of the total "private" school enrollment across the state. Of the 1,324 blacks enrolled in these "private" schools, only 154, or 11.6 per cent, are located in schools with some racial mix. However, this 11.6 per cent statistic is itself misleading, since the 154 blacks in question constitute only 0.3 per cent on the total "private" school enrollment. Even this meager token group is confined to 6 out of the 201 schools, and one school alone, Southside in Ouachita Parish, accounts for 135, or 8 per cent, of this black population enrolled in mixed "private" schools statewide.

The schools operated by the "mainline" religious groups have only a slightly greater tendency toward racial integration and concern for black citizens (see Table 3/15). However, when we examine our other data (not shown in this report) for the Missouri Synod Lutheran schools in Louisiana, we discover that these schools have a tradition of service to blacks that is apparently disappearing. Six Lutheran schools that were devoted to black patrons in 1962-63 have been closed since that time. In the light of our contacts with Seventh Day Adventist schools in other states, we suspect that a commitment of this type would have been uncovered in Louisiana if these schools had been willing to provide us with data (none responded).

The "private" schools from which PAR sought data cannot automatically be equated with the schools concerning which we requested estimates from public school superintendents, namely, schools that "seem to have come into being primarily in reaction to the desegregation of public schools." However, there is a remarkable overlap between the two groups, for PAR's estimates of numbers of "private" schools correspond precisely with our superintendent-derived estimates of numbers of desegregation-prompted nonpublic schools in numerous parishes where data are available from both sources. Concerning the direction in which enrollment in the desegregation-prompted nonpublic schools has moved in the current school year (1971-72), the superintendents provided responses distributed in the following manner (when more than one year was indicated, both answers were recorded):

1963-64	1
1968-69	3
1969-70	12

1970-71	17
1971-72	2

To the extent that the perceptions of these public school superintendents are accurate and representative, it is obvious that transfers from public to "anti-integration" nonpublic schools have been heaviest in the two critical years discussed at such length in connection with a Catholic school enrollment spurt--1969-70 and 1970-71. A related item produced the following results (some superintendents responded twice):

5. As compared with 1970-71, what has happened this year (1971-72) to enrollments in these schools? Have they

0 increased markedly
8 increased somewhat
19 held steady, or approximately so
10 decreased slightly
___ decreased markedly

There is little evidence here to suggest that the "anti-integration" nonpublic schools are going out of business. The modal response suggests that their enrollment is holding steady, or approximately so. Approximately equal numbers of public school superintendents see them as having "increased somewhat" and "decreased slightly" in enrollment during the past year.

The column in Table 3/14 titled "Year of 'Peak' Enrollment" includes data exclusively from schools for which enrollment figures were provided for at least three adjacent school years. The data in the column may be further summarized as follows:

1966-67	28	schools
1967-68	18	"
1968-69	3	"
1969-70	13	"
1970-71	21	"
1971-72	21	"

Here again, one finds little reason to conclude that schools of this type are waning. In fact, very recent enrollment growth is almost certainly obscured in the table by the fact that data for many schools were lacking for 1970-71 and 1971-72. A close look at the table indicates that a large proportion of the schools for which 1966-67 was a peak year were in Orleans Parish (the city of New Orleans). It would be interesting to study the possible reasons for this pattern.

One cannot assume, as we pointed out earlier, that fully segregated institutions, or even institutions that apparently came into being as a reaction to public school desegregation, are inhabited by racists. Fortunately, we have the recorded opinions of our Louisiana public school superintendents in this regard (some recorded more than one response):

4. Which of the following answers comes closest, in your estimation, to explaining why most parents transfer their children to these schools:

4	(a)	racial prejudice
9	(b)	confusion regarding what desegregation will do to academic quality and discipline in public schools
11		mostly (a) but partly (b)
15		mostly (b) but partly (a)
7		other (please explain)__________________

In the view of most of the superintendents, obviously, there is a definite element of racial prejudice behind the "private" schools we are discussing, but another major factor is "confusion regarding what desegregation will do to academic quality and discipline in public schools." Those who listed "other" answers exhibited no consistent trend.

Further perceptions of public schoolmen concerning the factors behind "anti-integration" nonpublic schools were provided in response to the question: "Assuming that desegregation cannot be reversed, what should the federal courts, administration, and/or legislative arm do to encourage Louisiana citizens to keep their children in public schools?" Sixteen superintendents mentioned the need for federal money, often stressing that the aid should be general rather than earmarked; 11 spoke of a necessity for the federal courts to stop harrassing the public schools through drastic, last-minute, unsettling, inconsistent, confusing, "interfering" decisions; 6 stressed that nonpublic schools should receive no fiscal assistance; 5 said the main problem was to improve public school programs or assure the public that these programs would be adequate; and 4 asked for an end to bussing and zoning and/or a return to "free choice" or "neighborhood school" policies. A few answers were nonresponsive.

Since so many "private" schools were located in Jefferson (Civil) Parish, a suburban area of New Orleans, we gathered some relevant information there. We have already noted, in chapter 2, the financial difficulties associated with rapid population growth in the area. In addition, public school administrators complained at length about their perception that parents were losing their previous attachment to the public schools their children attended, particularly in the light of the fact that court rulings were shifting children around so arbitrarily. In the perception of these administrators, the "private" schools of the area will flourish more and more if local people come to the conclusion that the public schools are controlled, not by local citizens, but by the courts and other federal agencies.

On the basis of figures in Tables 3/14 and 3/15, finally, it appears that Louisiana has something like 220 nonpublic schools, apart from the Catholic sector, that are completely segregated racially. The vast majority of these schools serve white constituencies. Something like 40,000 white students in the state are kept in all-white learning situations through the operation of these institutions.

. . . .

Though a summary of major findings and conclusions was provided at the end of chapter 2, the findings and conclusions of the present chapter, rather complex and multifarious, will be left for chapter 4 in an effort to avoid unnecessary repetition. Chapter 4 will begin, in fact, with a summary of the entire study.

TABLE 3/15

Estimated Enrollments, etc., By Parish and Race in Louisiana "Private" Schools, 1971-72[a]

Civil Parish[b]	No. of Schools[c]	Name of School	Year Founded	Year of Greatest Growth[d]	Year of Peak Enrollment[e]	Enrollment, 1971-72[g]		
						White	Black (or Indian)[f]	Percent Black (or Indian)
Acadia	1	Acadia Baptist Academy			1969-70	105	0	0.0
Allen	1	Leeds Memorial Indian			1970-71	0	(17)	(100.0)
Ascension	*2			*1970-71		*500	0	0.0
Assumption	0							
Avoyelles	*1			*1970-71		*350	0	0.0
Beauregard	0							
Percent Black of Total Public School Enrollment, 1970 - 57.6%								
Bienville	No Data Available							
Bossier	*2			*1970-71		*659	0	0.0
Caddo	21	1) Agnew Town and Country		1971-72		334	0	0.0
		2) Caddo Academy		1971-72		105	0	0.0
		3) *Baptist Christian Academy	*1964		*1970-71	*461	0	0.0
		4) *Central Free Methodist	*1946		1971-72	0	144	100.0
		5) Caddo Community			1970-71	228	0	0.0
		6) Friendship Academy			1970-71	325	0	0.0
		7) Grawood Christian	*1960		1971-72	690	0	0.0
		8) Bessie F. Hiern				14	0	0.0
		9) Lee's Private			1969,70 & 1971-72	0	56	100.0
		10) Montessori			1970-71	32	0	0.0
		11) Opportunity (Spec. Ed.)				0	14	100.0

TABLE 3/15
Continued

Civil Parish[b]	No. of Schools[c]	Name of School	Year Founded	Year of Greatest Growth[d]	Year of Peak Enrollment[e]	Enrollment, 1971-72[g]		
						White	Black (or Indian)[f]	Percent Black (or Indian)
Caddo (Con't)		12) Regan's Private				0	11	100.0
		13) Southfield			1970-71	395	0	0.0
		14) Trinity Heights				652	0	0.0
		15) Westview Christian			1969-70	38	0	0.0
		16) Williams Private			1967-68	37	0	0.0
		17) Calvary Baptist Academy				266	0	0.0
		18) Christian Academy				151	0	0.0
		19) First Baptist				571	0	0.0
		20) Oakmont Christian			1971-72	235	0	0.0
		21) Southside Baptist				60	0	0.0
Calcasieu	2	1) Calcasieu Academy			1970-71	168	0	0.0
		2) John Geddings Gray			1970-71 & 1971-72	3	0	0.0
Caldwell	0							
Cameron	0							
Catahoula	1	Grossroads Christian	1970	*1970-71		12		0.0
Percent Black of Total Public School Enrollment, 1970- 61.5%								
Claiborne	1					475	0	0.0
Concordia	2	1) Huntington	1970		1971-72	615	0	0.0
		2) Concordian					0	0.0
		Christian	1970		1970-71	33	0	0.0
Percent Black of Total Public School Enrollment, 1970 - 62.2%								

TABLE 3/15
Continued

Civil Parish[b]	No. of Schools[c]	Name of School	Year Founded	Year of Greatest Growth[d]	Year of Peak Enrollment[e]	Enrollment, 1971-72[g]		
						White	Black (or Indian)[f]	Percent Black (or Indian)
DeSoto	*2			*1969-70		*600	0	0.0
East Baton Rouge	7	1) Trinity Baptist			1967-68	140	0	0.0
		2) Central Private			1971-72	592	0	0.0
		3) Hardwick McMasters			1969-70	209	0	0.0
		4) Robert Livingston				433	0	0.0
		5) Southern University Laboratory			1966-67	559	0	0.0
		6) Louisiana State University Laboratory				533	11	2.0
		7) James Madison			1967-68	108	0	0.0
Percent Black of Total Public School Enrollment, 1970 - 68.3%								
East Carroll	No Data Available							
Percent Black of Total Public School Enrollment, 1970 - 69.8%								
East Feliciana	1	Sillimen Institute				591	0	0.0
Evangeline	*1	*Evangeline Academy	*1969		*1969-70	*1,968 (70-71)	0	0.0
Franklin	2	1) South Franklin Academy	1970			37	0	0.0
		2) Franklin Academy	1970			163	0	0.0
Grant								
Iberia	1	Jeanerette Academy				159	0	0.0
Percent Black of Total Public School Enrollment, 1970 - 64.1%								

TABLE 3/15
Continued[h]

Civil Parish[b]	No. of Schools[c]	Name of School	Year Founded	Year of Greatest Growth[d]	Year of Peak Enrollment[e]	Enrollment, 1971-72[g]		
						White	Black (or Indian)[f]	Percent Black (or Indian)
Iberville	*3			*1969-70		*575	0	0.0
Jackson	2	1) Jonesboro-Hodge Christian Academy			1971-72	126	0	0.0
		2) Eros Christian Academy			1970-71	85	0	0.0
Jefferson	17	1) Concordia			1970-71	175 (70-71)	0	0.0
		2) Jesus Name Apostolic				22 (70-71)	0	0.0
		3) Sam Barthe			1969-70	724 (70-71)	0	0.0
		4) Child's World			1967-68	58 (70-71)	0	0.0
		5) John Curtis			1970-71	617 (70-71)	0	0.0
		6) Daryl Dale			1967-68	15 (70-71)	0	0.0
		7) Kehoe Academy			1967-68	309 (70-71)	0	0.0
		8) Metairie Park Country Day	*1929		1971-72	*624	*1	0.2
		9) Ridgewood	*1948		1967-68 & 1970-71	350 (70-71)	0	0.0
		10) Stewart Preparatory			1969-70	202 (70-71)	0	0.0
		11) Marjorie Walter			1967-68	292 (70-71)	0	0.0
		12) Wlaters Special			1969-70	62 (70-71)	0	0.0
		13) Advancement			1967-68	56 (70-71)	0	0.0
		14) Wonderland			1967-68	72 (70-71)	0	0.0

TABLE 3/15
Continued

Civil Parish^{b}	No. of Schools^{c}	Name of School	Year Founded	Year of Greatest Growth^{d}	Year of Peak Enrollment^{e}	Enrollment, 1971-72^{g}		
						White	Black (or Indian)^{f}	Percent Black (or Indian)
Jefferson (Continued)	17	15) D&D Private			1970-71	80 (70-71)	0	0.0
		16) Kehoe France				198 (67-68)	0	0.0
		17) Jefferson Academy			1969-70	159 (70-71)	0	0.0
Jefferson Davis	*1			*1970-71		*100	0	0.0
Lafayette	1	W.A.Vennard	1970	*1970-71		107	0	0.0
Lafourche								
LaSalle	0							
Lincoln	*3			*1970-71		*900	0	0.0
Livingston	2	1) Citizens Council 2) ?		*1971-72		10 6	0	0.0
Percent Black of Total Public School Enrollment - 73.7%								
Madison	*1	?		*1969-70		*500	0	0.0
Percent Black of Total Public School Enrollment - 53.1%								
Morehouse	3	1) Prairie View				334	0	0.0
		2) Cherry Ridge Christian				194	0	0.0
		3) Paririe Jefferson				32	0	0.0
Percent Black of Total Public School Enrollment - 50.8%								
Natchitoches	*2			*1969-70		*800	0	0.0
Percent Black of Total Public School Enrollment - 68.0%								

TABLE 3/15
Continued

Civil Parish[b]	No. of Schools[c]	Name of School	Year Founded	Year of Greatest Growth[d]	Year of Peak Enrollment[e]	Enrollment, 1971-72[g]		
						White	Black (or Indian)[f]	Percent Black (or Indian)
Orleans	76	1) Mary Ellen Abbie				0	19 (68-69)	100.0
		2) Aurora Gardens Academy			1971-72	944	0	0.0
		3) Arden Cahill Academy				131	0	0.0
		4) Broadway House				9	0	0.0
		5) Boyd				0	69 (66-67)	100.0
		6) Bush			1966-67	0	90	100.0
		7) Carrollton Presbyterian			1971-72	159	0	0.0
		8) Carrollton Private				70	0	0.0
		9) Central				0	20	100.0
		10) Connor-Parkview				140	0	0.0
		11) Crescent City			1966-67	0	22	100.0
		12) Louise Davis			1966-67	41	0	0.0
		13) D.I.T.			1966-67	0	37	100.0
		14) Ecole Classique			1966-67	313	0	0.0
		15) Educational Research Center			1971-72	40	0	0.0
		16) Faith Retarded			1966-67	0	20	100.0
		17) Ferncrest			1966-67	293	0	0.0
		18) Fifth Baptist			1967-68	0	60	100.0
		19) Ganus			1971-72	318	0	0.0
		20) Garden District			1966-67	45 (69-70)	0	0.0
		21) Gentilly Center				10 (67-68)	0	0.0
		22) Gumbel Boys				11 (67-68)	0	0.0

TABLE 3/15

Continued

Civil Parish[b]	No. of Schools[c]	Name of School	Year Founded	Year of Greatest Growth	Year of Peak Enrollment	Enrollment, 1971-72[g]		
						White	Black (or Indian)[f]	Percent Black (or Indian)
Orleans (Continued)	76	23) Gumbel Girls				10 (67-68)	0	0.0
		24) Hart			1966-67	55	0	0.0
		25) Hope				0	4 (68-69)	100.0
		26) Hume			1967-68 & 1968-69	0	26	100.0
		27) Jayne Primary			1966-67	0	98	100.0
		28) Jesus Name Apostolic			1967-68	16	0	0.0
		29) Lake Castle			1971-72	398	0	0.0
		30) Lakewood				190	0	0.0
		31) LaPetite			1966-67	97	0	0.0
		32) Lutheran Children Center				5	0	0.0
		33) Martinez			1970-71	0	214	100.0
		34) McGehee	*1912		*1968-69	*407	0	0.0
		35) Mid-City Baptist	*1956	*1966-67	*1967-68	*275	0	0.0
		36) Milne Girls Home			1967-68 & 1969-70	18	0	0.0
		37) Mirahean			1966-67	62 (68-69)	0	0.0
		38) Murphy				96 (66-67)	0	0.0
		39) New Orleans Academy			1966-67	179	0	0.0
		40) New Orleans Hebrew				6 (66-67)	0 0	0.0 0.0
		41) New Orleans Remedial			1971-72	42	0	0.0
		42) Newman	*1904		1967-68	578	5	0.9

TABLE 3/15
Continued

Civil Parish[b]	No. of Schools[c]	Name of School	Year Founded	Year of Greatest Growth[d]	Year of Peak Enrollment[e]	Enrollment, 1970-71[g]		
						White	Black (or Indian)[f]	Percent Black (or Indian)
Orleans Continued	76	43) New Orleans Mental Health Clinic				6	1	14.3
		44) New School for Exceptional Children				11 (68-69)	0	0.0
		45) New University			1966-67	33 (68-69)	0	0.0
		46) Peoples Methodist Community Center			1966-67	0	47	100.0
		47) Pied Piper					9	100.0
		48) Prytania Gentilly Private			1966-67	222	0	0.0
		49) Prytania Private			1970-71	369	0	0.0
		50) Riverview			1966-67	38 (70-71)	0	0.0
		51) Rugby			1966-67	40	0	0.0
		52) Roslyn Park			1969-70	98	0	0.0
		53) Sacred Heart for Exceptional Children				0	25 (67-68)	100.0
		54) St. Marie Goretti				50 (68-69)	0	0.0
		55) Star of Hope			1966-67 & 1967-68	0	8	100.0
		56) Sunny Court				21 (67-68)	1 (67-68)	4.5
		57) Thel's				0	62 (67-68)	100.0

TABLE 3/15
Continued

Civil Parish[b]	No. of Schools[c]	Name of School	Year Founded	Year of Greatest Growth[d]	Year of Peak Enrollment[e]	Enrollment, 1970-71[g]		
						White	Black (or Indian)[f]	Percent Black (or Indian)
Orleans Continued	76	58)Trinity Baptist			1966-67	108 (68-69)	0	0.0
		59)United				95 (67-68)	0	0.0
		60)Uptown				92 (67-68)	0	0.0
		61)Vieux Carre			1966-67	6 (68-69)	0	0.0
		62)Carrollton Presbyterian Jr. High			1970-71	33	0	0.0
		63)Riverview Jr. High			1966-67	30 (70-71)	0	0.0
		64)Aurora Gardens Academy			1970-71	58	0	0.0
		65)Carrollton Presbyterian High				72	0	0.0
		66)Ecole Classique High			1971-72	158	0	0.0
		67)Ganus High			1966-67 & 1967-68	20	0	0.0
		68)Garden District High			1970-71	73 (70-71)	0	0.0
		69)Jesus Name Apostolic High			1969-70	6 (69-70)	0	0.0
		70)New Orleans Academy (upper grades)			1970-71	93	0	0.0
		71)Newman High School	*1904		1970-71	288	0	0.0
		72)New University (upper grades)			1966-67	46	0	0.0

TABLE 3/15
Continued

Civil Parish^b	No. of Schools^c	Name of School	Year Founded	Year of Greatest Growth^d	Year of Peak Enrollment^e	Enrollment, 1970-71^g		
						White	Black (or Indian)^f	Percent Black (or Indian)
Orleans Continued	76	73) New Orleans Remedial Clinic			1968-69	2	0	0.0
		74) Prytania Private High			1971-72	370	0	0.0
		75) Riverview High			(Steady)	10 (71-72)	0	0.0
		76) Rugby High			1966-67	31 (69-70)	0	0.0
Ovachita	10	1) Rigedale				202	0	0.0
		2) Dixie Private			1969-70	57 (69-70)	0	0.0
		3) Southside			1966-67	102 (70-71)	135	57.0
		4) Ovachita Private				57 (69-70)	0	0.0
		5) North Monroe Academy				41 (69-70)	0	0.0
		6) River Oaks				317	0	0.0
		7) Little Red Schoolhouse				70 (70-71)	0	0.0
		8) Winnsboro Road				154 (70-71)	0	0.0
		9) Mrs. McKelvey's Private				9 (69-70)	0	0.0
		10) Apostolic Tabernacle				5	0	0.0
Plaquemines	*3	1) *River Oaks 2) *McBride Academy 3) ?				*700	0	0.0

Percent Black of Total Public School Enrollment - 85.4%

TABLE 3/15
Continued

Civil Parish[b]	No. of Schools[c]	Name of School	Year Founded	Year of Greatest Growth[d]	Year of Peak Enrollment[e]	Enrollment, 1970-71[g]		
						White	Black (or Indian)[f]	Percent Black (or Indian)
Pointe Coupee	No Data Available							
Rapides	*2	?		*1970-71		*600	0	0.0
Red River	No Data Available							
Percent Black of Total Public School Enrollment - 50.4%								
Richland	*1	?		*1970-71		*320	0	0.0
Sabine								
St. Bernard	No Data Available							
St. Charles	*0							
Percent Black of Total Public School Enrollment - 68.1%								
St. Helena	0							
Percent Black of Total Public School Enrollment - 60.5%								
St. James	0							
Percent Black of Total Public School Enrollment - 60.4%								
St. John	*1			*1970-71		*840	0	0.0
St. Landry	5					821	0	0.0
		1) Amy Bradford Ware				369	0	0.0
		2) Belmont Academy				195	0	0.0
		3) Cherry Street				86	0	0.0
		4) Eunice Private				102	0	0.0
		5) MelvillePrivate						
St. Martin	1	St. Martin			1971-72	185	0	0.0

TABLE 3/15
Continued

Civil Parish[b]	No. of Schools[c]	Name of Schools	Year Founded	Year of Greatest Growth[d]	Year of Peak Enrollment[e]	Enrollment, 1970-71[g]		
						White	Black (or Indian)[f]	Percent Black (or Indian)
St. Mary	2	1) West End Academy			1971-72	226	0	0.0
		2) Sager Brown Methodist Orphanage			1966-67	0	115	100.0
St. Tammany	No Data Available							
Tangipahoa	4	1) Oak Forest Academy				375	0	0.0
		2) Southwood Academy				490	0	0.0
		3) Valley Forge (Amite)				770	0	0.0
		4) Valley Forge (Kentwood				260	0	0.0
Tensas	1	Tensas Academy				367	0	0.0
Terrebonne	No Data Available							
Union	1	East Union Academy	1970			232	0	0.0
Vermilion	1	Blanchet				18	0	0.0
Vernon	No Data Available							
Washington	*1	?		*1969-70		*285	0	0.0
Webster	*2	?		*1969		*250	0	0.0
West Baton Rouge	5	1) Central Wards				137 (70-71)	0	0.0
		2) Robert Livingston Academy						
		3) South Wards				155 (69-70)	0	0.0
		4) West Side Academy				146 (70-71)	0	0.0
		5) West Wards				304 (69-70)	0	0.0

Percent Black of Total Public School Enrollment - 70.0%

TABLE 3/15
Continued

Civil Parish[b]	No. of Schools[c]	Name of School	Year Founded	Year of Greatest Growth[d]	Year of Peak Enrollment[e]	Enrollment, 1970-71[g]		
						White	Black (or Indian)[f]	Percent Black (or Indian)
West Carroll	1	Sam Crow Academy				80	0	0.0
West Feliciano	0							
Percent Black of Total Public School Enrollment - 70.0%								
Winn	1	Winn Academy	1970			122	0	0.0

[a] We include in the category "private" both schools under nonsectarian auspices and schools sponsored by religious groups that have not traditionally maintained elementary and secondary schools.

[b] The parishes whose names are heavily underlined are identified by the Race Relations Information Center as those in which black children account for more than 50 percent of the total public school enrollment. See further information below, under sources.

[c] These data must be regarded as approximations. For example, sometimes a school with elementary, junior high, and senior high components is regarded as a single school, sometimes as two schools, and sometimes as three schools.

[d] The year indicated is the one identified by Louisiana public school administrators in response to the question, referring to schools apparently established to avoid racial integration: "During what school year have you noticed the most transfers of children into these schools?"

[e] The "peak" enrollment year represents the year, among the recent years for which enrollment data were available, in which the highest enrollment was recorded. Since as few as three years are sometimes represented in this figure, it should be taken merely as an indication of the recent short-term trend.

[f] In the case of information derived from public school superintendents, the superintendents were responding in the context of the question, "So far as you know, how many nonpublic schools in your civil parish (or city school district) seem to have come into being primarily in reaction to the desegregation of public schools?" Consequently, the assumption was made that the enrollment estimates reported by these superintendents did not include any blacks. One would not expect a school created primarily in reaction to the desegregation of public schools to institute its own desegregation.

[g] When data for 1971-72 are not available, the year reported is shown.

Sources: The majority of the data were obtained, through the courtesy of Mrs. Pat Bowers, from information being compiled at the time by the Information Center on School Desegregation of the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, Inc. in Baton Rouge (P.O.Box 3118, Baton Rouge, La. 70821). However, we rearranged the data to correspond with the two categories represented in the presented table and the one that follows, respectively, on the basis of our previous experience, which indicates that schools run by "main-line" school-operating religious groups, such as the Missouri Synod Lutherans, Seventh Day Adventists, and Episcopals are usually somewhat different in nature from schools operated by other non-Catholic religious groups and schools established under nonsectarian auspices, especially so far as race-related issues are concerned. Data marked with an asterisk (*) were derived from two sources of our own: (a) our interviews (see list of interviewees in Appendix A) and (b) a brief request for information that we sent to the 66 public school superintendents in the State of Louisiana (responses were received from 40, or 60.6 percent). Data in the final column, provided only for parishes in which black children account for more than 50 percent of the total public school enrollment, were obtained from Race Relations Information Center, *Majority-Black School Districts in the 11 Southern States* (Nashville, Tenn.: Race Relations Information Center, 1970); the names of these parishes are heavily underlined in the first column.

Total Students, Black, White, Indian = 39,617
Percent White = 96.6   Percent Black = 3.3   Percent Indian = 0.04
Whites in schools with *some* racial mix = 1,257 (3.3%)
Blacks in schools with *some* racial mix - 154 (11.6%)
Number of schools not completely segregated = 6 (3.0%)

TABLE 3/16

Estimated Enrollment, etc., By Parish and Race in Louisiana Nonpublic Schools Run By "Mainline" School-Sponsoring Non Catholic Denominations, 1970-71

Parish	No. of Schools	School	Denomination	Year Founded	Year of Peak Enrollment	Enrollment, 1970-71		
						White (incl. Sp. Amer.)	Black	Percent Black
Bossier	1	*Immanuel Lutheran	*Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod	*1968	*1971-72	*24	0	0.0
Caddo	3	1)*King of Kings Lutheran	*Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod	*1970	*1971-72	0	*25	100.0
		2)*Philadelphia Seventh Day Adventist	*Seventh-Day Adventist		1967-68	0	47	100.0
		3)*Shreveport Jr. Academy	*ditto		1970-71	85	1	1.2
Calcasieu	1	*Episcopal Day	*Episcopal	*1953	*1969-70 to 1971-72	*156	*3	1.9
East Baton Rouge	6	1)*First Lutheran	*Lutheran Church Missouri Synod		*1970-71	*59	*6	10.2
		2)*Trinity Lutheran	*ditto	*1964	*1971-72	*43	0	0.0
		3)*Episcopal High	*Episcopal	*1964	*1971-72	*560	0	0.0
		4)Baton Rough Jr. Academy	*Seventh-Day Adventist		1969-70	95	6	6.3
		5)*Berean Jr. Academy	*ditto		1970-71	0	261	100.0
		6)*St. James Episcopal Day	*Episcopal		1966-67	278	0	0.0
Jefferson	6	1)*Concordia Lutheran	*Lutheran Church Missouri Synod	*1965	*1971-72	*256	0	0.0
		2)*Faith Lutheran	*ditto		*1971-72	*229	0	0.0
		3)*Atonement Lutheran	*ditto		*1971-72	*240	0	0.0
		4)*Mount Olive	*ditto		*1962-63	*17	0	0.0
		5)*St. Martin's	*Episcopal	*1947	*1971-72	*815	0	0.0
		6)Jefferson Heights Jr. Academy	*Seventh-Day Adventist		1970-71	71 (70-71)	0	0.0
Lafayette	1	*Ascension Day	*Episcopal		1971-72	0	12	100.0

TABLE 3/16
Continued

Parish	No. of Schools	School	Denomination	Year Founded	Year of Peak Enrollment	Enrollment, 1970-71		
						White (incl. Sp. Amer.)	Black	Percent Black
Orleans	10	1)*Christ Lutheran	*Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod		*1970-71	*145	0	0.0
		2)*Out Savior Lutheran	*ditto		*1970-71	*261	0	0.0
		3)*St. John Lutheran	*ditto		*1962-63	*225	0	0.0
		4)*St. Paul First English	*ditto		*1962-63	*241	*12	4.7
		5)*Lutheran High	*ditto	*1970-71	*1971-72	*103	*1	1.0
		6)*Trinity Episcopal	*Episcopal	*1960	*1970-71 & 1971-72	*348	*2	0.6
		7)Ephesus Seventh-Day Adventist	*Seventh-Day Adventist		1971-72	0	104	100.0
		8)*St. Andrew's	*Episcopal			56	0	0.0
		9)*Lakeshore	*Hebrew	*1971	1971-72	0	12	100.0
		10)Ephesus High	*Seventh-Day Adventist					
Ouachita	1	*Monroe Seventh-Day Adventist	*Seventh-Day Adventist			18 (69-70)	0	0.0
Rapids	2	1)*Avoustana Lutheran	*Lutheran Church Missouri Synod		*1964-65	0	*25	100.0
		2)*Alexandria Church School	*Seventh-Day Adventist					
Tangipahoa	1	*Hammond Seventh-Day Adventist	*Seventh-Day Adventist			12	0	0.0

TABLE 3/16
Continued

Sources, etc.: For information on sources, specific interpretations of columns, etc., see explanation at end of Table 3/14. Exceptions: Data regarding percent black of total public school enrollment are not repeated in this table. An additional source for the present table consisted of the responses of 10 out of 29 schools to our mailed inquiries.

Total Students, black and while = 4,854
Percent white = 89.3% -- Percent black = 10.7
Whites in schools with some racial mix = 1,087 (25.1%)
Blacks in schools with some racial mix = 31 (6.0%)
Number of schools not completely segregated = 7 (21.9%)

FOOTNOTES

[1] William D. Broderick, *The Catholic Church and Black Americans in 1970* (Case Study, Twelfth Session, Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy: Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State, 1970, offset).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[12] Louis G. Aguirre, "NCCIJ Meeting as Characterized by Negative Approach," *Clarion Herald* (official weekly of the Archdiocese of New Orleans), *Aug. 26, 1971*.

[13] Robert L. Crain, The *Politics of School Desegregation* (New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1969), pp. 235-322.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 262.

[15] NCEA Report, 1970-71, p. 40.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] As the NCEA Report, 1970-71, defines the system of categories utilized in this regard: "In describing schools by levels of integration, the term 'all' here refers to a school in which the total enrollment was 98-100% white or minority group. This broader use of the term 'all' was based on the 1968 HEW survey on school integration, which reported that 3,331,404 or 53% of the Negro students attended schools which were 99-100% minority group schools, which only 2,493,398 or 39.7% attended 100% minority

group schools. For present purposes, it was deemed more accurate to describe schools with a 98-100% minority group or white students being 'all' minority group or 'all' white. Schools where more than 80% and less than 98% of the students were minority groups or white students are referred to here as 'mostly' minority group or 'mostly' white. 'Mixed' here describes schools in which neither the white nor the minority group enrollment constituted more than 80% of the total enrollment." p. 39.

[18] Thomas Pettigrew, "School Integration in Curren Perspective," *Urban Review*, 3 (January, 1969), 4-8.

[19] "Black Catholics in the U.S.: An Exploratory Analysis," *Sociolocial Review*, 20 (Winter, 1967), 186-92.

[20] "Desegregation Substantial in Louisiana," *Schools in Transition*, 1 (Public Affairs Research Council, Baton Rouge, La.: Aug.-Sept., 1971), 3.

[21] When two schools (say a hypothetical St. Mary's and St. Paul's) are "paired," they both continue functioning, but their constituencies are merged. Whereas St. Mary's and St. Paul's both offered grades one through eight before the pairing, after the pairing St. Mary's may offer grades one through four to all students from the two schools and St. Paul's may offer grades five through eight to all students from the schools.

[22] Edwin M. Bridges, "Administrative Man: Origin or Pawn in Decision Making?" *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 6 (Winter, 1970), 7-25.

[23] Herbert A. Simon, *Administrative Behavior* (2d ed.; New York: Free Press, 1957), p. 134.

[24] Much of the material that follows is based upon Dolores Egger Labbé, *Jim Crow Comes to Church: the Establishment of Segregated Catholic Parishes in South Louisiana* (Lafayette, La.: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1971), supplemented by information from our own interviews.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

[28] "Separate and Superior," *Time*, Jan. 1, 1965, p. 56.

[29] Labbé, *Jim Crow Comes to Church*, p. 91.

[30] In a pastoral letter dated March 15, 1953, Archbishop Rummel ordered: "Let there be no further discrimination or segregation in the pews, at the Communion rail, at the confessional and in parish meetings, just as there will be no segregation in the kingdom of heaven."

[31] Robert L. Crain, The Politics of School Desegregation (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1969), pp. 250-322.

[32] Ibid., pp. 262-64.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Frank O'Neill, "How Catholic? A Universal Church's Response to Southern 'Isms' of Race," South Today, October, 1970, pp. 4-5.

[35] New Orleans City Planning Commission, Community Renewal Program: New Orleans, Louisiana (New Orleans, City of New Orleans, 1971), p. 46.

[36] Letter from Mother M. Johnette Putnam, O.S.B., Prioress, Saint Scholastica Priory, Covington, La.; to "Parents and Friends of St. Peter's School," April 15, 1970.

[37] By "religious," the archbishop means teachers affiliated with religious orders.

[38] Letter from Edgar L. Chase III, Chairman, Institutions Committee, Human Relations Commission, Archdiocese of New Orleans; to George F. Reineke, President, Archdiocesan School Board, Archdiocese of New Orleans, September 8, 1971.

[39] Ferrel Guillory, "Baton Rouge Desegregates," America, June 20, 1970, pp. 650-52.

[40] "Desegregation Substantial in Louisiana," School in Transition, 1 (Baton Rouge, La.: Public Affairs Research Council Information Center on School Desegregation, Aug. - Sept., 1971) p. 4.

[41] Diocesan Board of Social Responsibility, A Diocesan Program for the Implementation of Social Responsibility at the Parish Level (Baton Rouge, La.: Catholic Diocese of Baton Rouge, 1970), pp. 5-9.

[42] Letter to Donald A. Erickson from Brother Felician Fourrier, S.C., Superintendent of Schools, Diocese of Baton Rouge, Baton Rouge, La., Oct. 4, 1971.

[43] Undated statement of Bishop Tracy during the summer of 1971, made available from files of Diocesan Superintendent of Schools.

[44] Document provided by Diocesan Superintendent.

[45] The board consists of six elected representatives from the St. Francis Xavier parish; four from the St. Agnes parish; and one from Immaculate Conception parish (an all-black parish that sends many students to St. Francis Xavier School), along with the pastors of the three parishes and the principals of the two schools as ex-officio members.

4. SUMMARY, GENERAL CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

The present study of nonpublic schools in Louisiana was designed to supplement work conducted earlier for the President's Commission on School Finance.[1] The earlier inquiry focused on Michigan, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, though some data were gathered from other areas of the nation. The study reported here was addressed to the same major public policy issues, with particular attention to the ebb and flow of nonpublic school enrollment at elementary and secondary levels, and to the apparent causes and consequences of those fluctuations.[2]

As a major aspect of the Louisiana research, we attempted to explain several notable enrollment trends (along with closely related phenomena) that were immediately evident. While a pronounced "crisis of confidence" appears to be exhibited nationally by patrons and sponsors of Catholic schools, no comparable phenomenon was encountered in Louisiana.[3] For example: the superintendent of schools of one of the four dioceses in the state predicted that Catholic schools in his area would grow (in terms of number of students) by at least 50 per cent during the next ten years or so. Whereas profound pessimism had apparently resulted from the withdrawal of expected state aid to nonpublic schools in Michigan, a court decision outlawing similar assistance produced little discernible impact on enrollment or morale in Louisiana's nonpublic schools.

Between 1960-61 and 1970-71, Catholic elementary school enrollment declined by 23.1 per cent in the nation as a whole, but only by 12.8 per cent in Louisiana. During the same period, the total number of Catholic high school students grew by 17.5 per cent nationally, but by 26.8 per cent in Louisiana. (In both cases, of course, the ten-year trend figure obscures a very recent enrollment attrition.) During the last five years for which data are available, the net loss of pupils in Catholic elementary schools, state and national, presents a more dramatic contrast than during the decade of the sixties.

Between 1965-66 and 1970-71, the drop-off was 25.2 per cent nationally, but only 12.7 per cent in Louisiana.

As for the other (nonCatholic) nonpublic schools, as a total group in the United States, they seem best characterized as "holding their own" in terms of patron loyalties in recent years. Though precise figures are not available in Louisiana, it is evident that the total number of students in these schools has been burgeoning of late--so much so that some public school superintendents in the state think public education is in jeopardy.

When we examined enrollment data for Catholic elementary and secondary schools by region (equivalent figures were not available for the other nonpublic schools), we discovered that the unusual holding power of nonpublic schools was to a considerable degree characteristic of the Southeast as a whole--not merely of Louisiana.[4]

In the school year 1969-70, both Catholic and other nonpublic schools in Louisiana displayed a suddenly augmented attractiveness. Whereas Catholic elementary schools throughout the state had shown a net loss of students for several years previously, in 1969-70 the rate of decline was notably curtailed in the Archdiocese of New Orleans, and in the three other dioceses in Louisiana, significant expansion occurred. As for the other (nonCatholic) nonpublic schools whose enrollments are state-reported, their enrollments increased by 90.3 per cent (over the previous year) in 1969-70. The salience of 1969-70 (and to a somewhat comparable degree, 1970-71) to the patron-getting ability of the state's nonpublic schools is further documented in chapter 3.

In the school year 1962-63, the Catholic elementary schools of the Archdiocese of New Orleans experienced a net loss of approximately 3,000 pupils (4.7 per cent of the previous year's total), though for several years previously and subsequently, an upward trend was evident.

Were these fluctuations merely random, logically attributable to nothing in particular, or could explanatory dynamics be found?

We began, in chapter 2, by seeking reasons, generally outside the sphere of race-related events, for the fact that nonpublic schools in the Southeast, and particularly in Louisiana, seemed unusually attractive to patrons of late, as compared with nonpublic schools elsewhere in the United States. This line of inquiry led us to consider, as possible explanations, the perceived quality of public education, the quality of nonpublic schools, the availability of public assistance, the magnitude of recent cost increases, shifts in tuition levels, the loss of "religious" teachers,[5] from Catholic schools, the extent of the recent city-to-suburbs migration, population growth, regionally differentiated religious viewpoints, and patron ability to pay. In connection with these topics, we examined several related policy questions, such as: Has the existence and status of nonpublic schools impeded progress in public education? Have nonpublic schools made important contributions to the improvement of educational practice in the state and region? Is there much reason to suspect that the national crisis in nonpublic school enrollment has merely been delayed in Louisiana and the Southeast?

In chapter 3, we examine the web of recent race-related events involving nonpublic schools in Louisiana. In the process, we considered numerous issues relating to the role of nonpublic schools with respect to the struggle for racial justice.

Before reporting the central findings and conclusions from these two chapters, however, we should briefly recapitulate the processes by which the study was conducted. The work was executed under extreme time pressures. A study of this complexity should have involved as much planning time as was available for planning, data collection, analysis, and writing combined. The contract for the study was awarded on September 29, 1971. Data collection was terminated on December 15, 1971, less than eleven weeks later. In the meantime, 12 Louisiana individuals and teams completed case studies of phenomena that seemed deserving of special attention, while Chicago and Boston personnel labored to synthesize the state-wide (and at times, regional) picture by means of four trips to Louisiana, correspondence, and telephone conversations.[6] Invaluable assistance was provided by the National Catholic Education Association's Data Bank (which, through Fr. George Elford, made available extensive national, regional, state, and diocesan data on Catholic schools) and by the Information Center on School Desegregation of the Public Affairs Research Council in Baton Rouge (which, through Mrs. Pat Bowers, considerably augmented our data relating to nonCatholic nonpublic schools in Louisiana).

We wish to emphasize in connection with the above-mentioned time constraints, not that our central conclusions are seriously vulnerable to attack (for they have been drawn, we think, with due regard to the haste with which the data were collected), but that we fully recognize, as will any capable scholar reading these pages, a number of lacunae that remain. Under more favorable conditions, we would have extended investigations in several directions, particularly to explore possibilities that did not occur to us in advance.

Issues not Directly Race-Related

In chapter 2, we discussed evidence that in the area of New Orleans, and perhaps to some extent in Southern Louisiana as a whole, the best schools are widely assumed, accurately or inaccurately, to be nonpublic. In Greater New Orleans, evidently, the schools of highest repute are nonsectarian (e.g., Louise S. McGehee, Metarie Park Day, and Isidore Newman), though some Catholic schools run a close second. There are many recent indications that public schools in the area are viewed as substandard, and even as deteriorating, by many educators and general citizens. Much of the public school problem seems inherent in the Louisiana constitution, which, by requiring that county assessors be elected, provides built-in pressures for keeping local taxes low. In addition, the state grants massive tax exemptions to industrial firms that move into the state or undertake major capital improvements. In some areas, public schools have been plagued by special problems. In Jefferson (Civil) Parish (where several important suburbs of New Orleans are located), for example, the registration of students practically doubled (rising from 30,478 in 1958-59 to 60,072 in 1968-69) in a single decade, and the difficulties associated with that increase were exacerbated by an extensive court-imposed program of integration-by-bussing in the fall of 1971.

But generally, it would be tenuous to attribute the unusual holding power of nonpublic schools in Louisiana and the Southeast largely to the apparent widespread perception that many public schools in the area are inadequate. In the Southeast as a whole, public schools have been in considerable obloquy for many years, yet that region traditionally has had fewer nonpublic schools than any other part of the country. It would be difficult to find a major city whose schools show more signs of degeneration than Boston's,[7] yet nonpublic schools in

Boston have been declining at an alarming rate.[8] But perceptions of public school inadequacy are no doubt *part* of the explanation we seek. In two studies in the North, at least, the evidence indicates that nonpublic schools are viewed more favorably relative to public schools in the suburbs, where public schools have fairly good reputations, than in the central cities, where public schools are generally scandalous.[9]

We must consider, as the reverse of the coin, one widespread contention: that nonpublic schools are a major *cause* of substandard public education. When sending their own children to nonpublic schools, the argument runs, the elite and powerful have less reason to demand and support improvements in public education. Similar charges have been voiced in many other areas, including Boston, New Haven, and the entire state of Massachusetts.[10] As we observed in our earlier work for the Commission, however, these allegations are not substantiated by the limited available evidence.[11] In areas where nonpublic schools are most numerous, public schools are *not* generally worse off than elsewhere; in fact, the opposite may be the case, as a result of the fact that so many children are educated at private rather than public expense. In contrast to the idea that Louisiana's public schools are less than outstanding because so many nonpublic schools are available, we find more logic in several explanations discussed in chapter 3--such as the unique status system of New Orleans and various provisions of the state constitution. In fact, if the constitution makes it particularly difficult in Louisiana to provide public schools with adequate fiscal support, there may be *more* need than elsewhere to relieve the financial strain by attracting as many children as possible into nonpublic schools. In the absence of further research in this connection, however, no firm conclusions are warranted.

What now of the educational quality of Louisiana's (and the Southeast's) nonpublic schools? Is their magnetism in recent years a function of some marked or unusual superiority in comparison with other nonpublic schools in the country?

The data here are inconclusive. Concerning the educational quality of many nonpublic schools there is simply no reliable evidence. Some, as we have noted, like the Louise S. McGehee School, Metarie Park County Day, and Isidore Newman School in Greater New Orleans, are generally acknowledged to be schools of high repute. Others, such as the Catholic schools, are not quite so highly regarded, but some, like

Jesuit High School in New Orleans, are purportedly much superior to public schools. On the other hand, it is widely reported that quality education is not a conspicuous feature of the so-called "segregationist academies." Some of these academies in Plaquemines (Civil) Parish are allegedly surviving mainly because children are being bused from adjoining Jefferson (Civil) Parish where, integration aside, the public schools are operating on double shifts because of a scarcity of facilities and operating funds, as we observed earlier.

When we made several regional comparisons for the one group of nonpublic schools (Catholic) for which the requisite information was available, we found nothing to suggest that Catholic schools in the Southeast were notably superior to Catholic schools elsewhere.

We do not wish to imply, however, that nonpublic schools in Louisiana have made no important instructional contributions. The surprisingly rapid impact on public schools of the Free School in New Orleans is documented in chapter 5. Chapter 6 provides evidence that the Isidore Newman School in New Orleans led local schools in the introduction of a number of innovations over the years. Chapter 7 discusses the experimentation that is occurring in an all-black Catholic school in Lake Charles. The contributions of several other Catholic schools are discussed at various points in chapter 3, particularly so far as black Catholics are concerned.

Officials of the Diocese of Baton Rouge claim to be developing an extensive emphasis on nongrading in all their elementary schools. All reading instruction purportedly is nongraded at the present time. All language arts instruction will be included in the nongraded system during the second semester of 1971-72. Mathematics is to be added next year (1972-73). Unless the nongraded methods adopted by the diocese are extremely unusual, however, one would not expect to see any notable improvements in instruction. Though designed to produce fundamental classroom changes, nongrading apparently has done so very seldom in actual practice.[12]

Interestingly, we encountered in the Diocese of Lafayette an instance of the type of resistance to school experimentation that has been fairly typical in public education, but seldom has been documented in nonpublic schools. In 1969, the Catholic high school in the town of Jeanerette (in "Cajun country") was destroyed by fire. The Sisters of Mercy, who provided most of the staffing for the school, decided to replace the stucture with a building designed to facilitate unconventional instruction. When classes reopened, various team teaching arrangements were introduced, along with nongrading, individualized programs of instruction, and the discussion of controversial issues in English and Social Studies. In the brouhaha that followed, the nuns withheld their services for a time, a group of laymen newly returned from a religious retreat clashed with the pastor, and 200 children transferred to the public school.

If forced to make a judgment on the basis of the largely impressionistic evidence, we would conclude tentatively that nonpublic schools serving all-black or predominantly black constituencies in Louisiana may in a significant proportion of cases be performing vital functions that nearby public schools are not equipped to perform. As for nonpublic schools as a total group, however, the available evidence does not create an image of exceptionally effective or unusually innovative programs. (We have noted some exceptions, we should reemphasize.) In the eyes of numerous informants, nonpublic schools in Louisiana as a whole may even be ultra-traditional in important particulars. To some parents, of course, such schools are the more attractive for their traditionalism. But we see no good reason to attribute the unusual holding power of the majority of nonpublic schools in Louisiana and the Southeast to an unusual standard of excellence.

In a fairly extended examination in chapter 2 of state, federal, and local assistance programs for nonpublic schools, we decided that local public aid could be an important factor in some civil parishes, so far as the strength of "segregationist academies" was concerned, though the sub rosa nature of this subvention would make conclusive evidence difficult to obtain. But with this possible exception, we saw no reason to believe that nonpublic schools in Louisiana were flourishing because of some unusual degree of public help from federal, state, or local levels. So far as locally initiated cooperative programs (such as "shared time") are concerned, they are common nationally but virtually nonexistent in Louisiana.

We uncovered some data to suggest that relatively moderate upward trends in per-pupil expenditure might help explain the relatively stable pupil enrollment in Catholic schools in the Southeast of late. However, the relationship is too tautological to warrant any conclusions, for per-pupil cost increases in Catholic schools have often resulted, at least in part, from enrollment declines. Typically, Catholic school leaders have not reduced school staffs in proportion to the loss of students.

We encountered many indications in Louisiana that black Catholic schools had closed, and many black parents had withdrawn their children from Catholic schools that remained open, because of tuition increases and other financial problems. There is little reason, then, to believe that blacks find tuition fees exceptionally reasonable in Catholic schools in Louisiana and the Southeast. And more generally, interregional comparisons provide no data to indicate that the unusual attractiveness to patrons of Catholic schools in the Southeast is a function of tuition and other fees that are particularly low. To the contrary, in the elementary Catholic schools the fees parents must pay would lead us to anticipate, ceteris paribus, a higher rate of enrollment decline in the Southeast than in any other region of the United States.

Figures introduced in chapter 2 indicate that the rate of loss of "religious" teachers in Catholic schools has not been notably different in the Southeast from loss rates in other regions. Louisiana itself has shown a sharper-than-normal attrition in this particular, though only the Archdiocese of New Orleans and the Diocese of Baton Rouge have been seriously affected. We tentatively concluded, for numerous reasons discussed in the chapter, that the differential enrollment declines exhibited in the four Catholic dioceses of Louisiana might to some extent be attributable to a differential rate of loss of religious teachers (relative to the number of schools). The relationship between availability of nuns and loyalty of patrons is not necessarily a matter of costs. Some Catholics may be withdrawing their children from schools the nuns have left, not primarily because tuitions have increased, but because schools run almost entirely by lay teachers no longer seem distinctively Catholic.

It is evident that patrons of Catholic schools in the Southeast have for years been accustomed to a larger proportion of "lay" teachers than have patrons of Catholic schools elsewhere. One could argue on the one hand that Catholics in the Southeast, having been inured to a high proportion of lay teachers in their schools are less likely to be upset if a few nuns leave. On the other hand, it is possible that the proportion of nuns in Catholic schools is closer in the Southeast than elsewhere to some unknown level of tolerance below which pronounced patron defections will occur.

In our earlier work, it seemed evident that some of the decline in Catholic school enrollment was attributable to the migration of many Catholic families from central cities to suburbs in recent years.[13] If patrons of Catholic schools had remained in the central cities, where most of the needed school buildings had been erected earlier, the massive cost of erecting new structures in the suburbs would have been avoided to a considerable extent. Furthermore, as we noted earlier, the competitive position of Catholic (and other nonpublic schools) relative to public schools seems much more favorable in the cities than in the suburbs, as a rule. The available figures showa fairly low concentration of Catholic schools in inner city locations in the Southeast as compared with the rest of the nation, but the tendency seems explained by a higher concentration of schools in small towns and rural areas, not in the suburbs. However, data of this type do not indicate rates of movement from cities to suburbs. In the absence of more pertinent data, two observations may be instructive. We know, in terms of information discussed in chapter 3, that many new Catholic schools have been constructed in Louisiana suburbs in recent years, particularly in Greater New Orleans, to accommodate new Catholic suburbanites. But many of these suburbanites moved in from other states, rather than from nearby cities. It is estimated that less than 25 per cent of recent population growth in the suburbs of New Orleans reflects an outmigration from the city itself. We know, further, that the Southern cities in question still reflect a "checker board" or "layer cake" intermingling of black and white residential areas (see chapter 3). There are few indications of the widespread abandonment by whites that is characteristic of many northern cities. It does seem plausible, then, to assume that the recent "holding power" of Catholic schools in the Southeast is to some modest but unknown extent a function of a less pronounced migration from cities to suburbs than has occurred elsewhere.

We know that nonpublic schools in the nation as a whole have experienced enrollment losses partially as a consequence of the recent birth rate decline. A leading Louisiana demographer informs us that the same general birth rate decline is characteristic of the Southeast, and particularly of black populations in Louisiana, where a massive program of birth control education has been carried out in recent years. However, 1970 census data (which time has not permitted us to document) show that the rate of population growth in the Southeast in recent years has significantly exceeded national averages, largely because of the movement of many industrial firms to this region. Previously discussed evidence from Jefferson (Civil) Parish has shown how a rapid population influx apparently can create problems that stimulate many parents to patronize nonpublic schools. It is possible, then, that the unusual holding power of nonpublic schools in Louisiana in recent years is to some extent a function of a differential rate of population growth. More research is needed before any firm conclusions will be warrented in this regard.

There is considerable evidence elsewhere to indicate that the recent enrollment attrition of Catholic schools nationally is to a large extent a function of changing views concerning the nature of effective, beneficial religious education. Several Catholic informants in Louisiana, including some in highly influential positions, have suggested that the current holding power of Catholic schools in the state is partly a result of a tendency for Catholics in the Southeast to take longer than Catholics elsewhere to "catch up" with the theological revolution symbolized by the Second Vatican Council. We have no directly pertinent evidence on this point, though the reaction of many Louisiana Catholics to racial desegregation in the schools (a matter discussed in chapter 3) suggests that these leaders may have a cogent point. But carefully executed attitudinal surveys are needed before firm conclusions can be drawn.

According to information summarized in chapter 2, there is a slight tendency for Catholic schools in the Southeast, as compared with Catholic schools in the nation as a whole, to draw their patrons from higher income strata. The small difference seems potentially more significant when one remembers that incomes in the South are in general considerably lower than incomes elsewhere. The data may reflect some inaccuracies, for parental income figures, rather than being based as a matter of policy on information from the parents themselves, were estimated by the administrators of the Catholic schools that the respective children attended (though some administrators may have decided on their own to elicit information directly from parents). Nevertheless, we think it reasonable to conclude tentatively that the relative enrollment stability of Catholic schools in the Southeast may be partially a function of a tendency to draw patrons from somewhat higher income levels. In the long run, however, this tendency may be a disadvantage, for studies elsewhere have shown that higher-income Catholics may be more susceptible to the emergent religious ideas that seem to disparage traditional church-related schooling.[14]

In summary, evidence introduced in chapter 2 suggests that race-related events are not the only plausible explanations for the unusual holding power of nonpublic schools in Louisiana in recent years, though we have encountered nothing in the religious and regional phenomena thus far discussed to account for the dramatic downward enrollment shift in New Orleans in 1962-63 or for the sudden increased attractiveness throughout the state of nonpublic schools in 1969-70.

Race-Related Events

According to data introduced in chapter 3, the Catholic elementary and secondary schools in Louisiana, enrolling about 112,172 youngsters, have been making significant but discouragingly slow progress toward racial integration among students and teachers. Nonpublic schools in Louisiana sponsored by nonsectarian groups and by denominations that have not generally maintained elementary and secondary schools in recent times are virtually all segregated, cater almost exclusively to whites, and enroll something like 40,000 students as a total. Protestant groups with a long-standing policy of maintaining their own schools seem to a less pronounced degree to be segregated, all-white institutions, though their lack of cooperation prevented us from obtaining clearly representative data. Their total enrollment is estimated at 4,854.

Evidence in chapter 3 further suggests that race-related events are perhaps the most important explanatory variables so far as enrollment fluctuations and the unusual holding power of nonpublic schools in the state are concerned. We strongly suspect that recent court-initiated steps toward racial integration in public schools have accentuated the attractiveness to parents of the state's nonpublic schools. The same type of parent who is deserting nonpublic schools elsewhere in the nation may be continuing to patronize them in Louisiana because of race-related factors. The major state-wide growth documented in nonpublic schools in 1969-70 and 1970-71 occurred precisely during the months when the largest strides toward racial integration were taken in the state's public schools. A pronounced loss of enrollment in the Catholic schools of the Archdiocese of New Orleans in 1962-63 came hard on the heels of the first archdiocese-wide racial integration in Catholic schools. The public school superintendents who responded to our inquiries exhibited a strong tendency to attribute the recent expansion of nonpublic schools in their areas to "racial prejudice," "confusion regarding what desegregation will do to academic quality and discipline in public schools," or both (see chapter 3).

In this connection, there is a strong possibility that the optimism of several of Louisiana's Catholic leaders concening the future of their schools is unwarranted. We suspect that the forces producing a pronounced and continuing national enrollment decline in Catholic schools are at work in Louisiana, but have been delayed in impact by several regional phenomena, including particularly recent race-related events in public education. Lack of recognition of this fact may prevent Catholic leaders in the state from using the current period of relative enrollment stability to undertake the basic reexamination of the purposes of their schools that may be essential to survival in the long run. Many black and white Catholic respondents in Louisiana complained that diocesan officials seemed unwilling to face fundamental questions concerning the structure and functioning of Catholic schools. We further suspect, as we indicated in our earlier work for the Commission, that the other (nonCatholic) nonpublic schools have virtually equal need to reconsider their aims and objectives, though as a group they have not yet been profoundly affected by the gathering storm.

No attempt will be made to recapitulate here the sometimes-lengthy narrative in chapter 3 concerning steps taken or not taken by nonpublic schools in Louisiana toward the achievement of racial justice, and concerning subsequent reactions to the action or inaction. Rather, our approach will be to discuss what we think we have learned in Louisiana with respect to several issues of public concern.

1. To what extent is the relationship between enrollment and race-related events evidence that the nonpublic schools in Louisiana are racist?

While there is little doubt in our own minds that many patrons of nonpublic schools in Louisiana are basically racist in outlook, there is not much logic in assuming, on the basis of the evidence we have been able to assemble, that nonpublic schools in the state as a whole exist predominantly by reason of racial prejudice. In some instances, desegregation is badly managed, violence occurs, children are threatened, discipline breaks down in classrooms and hallways, instruction is disrupted, and there are few discernible prospects for improvement. In other instances, white parents may be reacting, not primarily against the advent of black children but against the fact that the incoming blacks are from deprived backgrounds. Obviously these responses concern social class rather than race per se. One often finds, in this connection, that parents transfer their children from integrated public schools to integrated Catholic schools on the assumption that the black children found in Catholic schools are from more privileged backgrounds and thus will display greater ability to cope with classroom demands. In still other cases, there is reason to believe that parents have left the public schools because the federal courts seem to have usurped the governance rights of parents and locally elected officials. In the nonpublic schools, parents often are able to reassert those prerogatives.

When the welfare of the child seems seriously threatened in a racially integrated school, the parent faces a difficult moral dilemma. If he transfers his child to a largely segregated nonpublic school, he may hamper society's struggle toward justice. But there may be some point at which conditions are sufficiently damaging to the child to constitute a moral justification, or even a moral demand, for the transfer. And under these conditions, the nonpublic schoolman would probably be justified in permitting the tranfer to occur. Since the parent obviously must act in terms of his own perception of the situation, it will often be difficult, we must acknowledge, for administrators in nonpublic schools to determine whether would-be patrons are motivated by racial intolerance or are acting because they think their children are being injured intolerably by the unfortunate by-products of integration. Furthermore, since the administrator obviously must act in terms of his perception of the situation, it will often be difficult to determine why he is acting as he does. We have no reservations about throwing road-blocks in the way of racists fleeing integration, but it is not always easy to differentiate these misguided people from parents fleeing for more justifiable reasons.

2. To what extent is the charge valid that leaders of nonpublic schools and their sponsoring groups in Louisiana, when not obviously racist, have at least lacked courage to set a moral example by integrating before public school leaders were forced to do so?

As we noted earlier, if leaders of the vast majority of nonCatholic nonpublic schools in Louisiana are opposed to racism, they have given little discernible evidence of that fact. Their lack of moral thrust on the racial question seems well documented, and many of them give numerous indications, so far as we can see, of being insensitive to racial injustice. There are a few notable exceptions.

So far as the state's Catholic schools are concerned, the question is more clouded. Some observers, noting that many Catholics in Louisiana seem racially prejudiced, insist the Catholic church itself is therefore racist, along with its elementary and secondary schools. But if the Southeast (and probably the nation as a whole) is racist in certain particulars and the Catholics who comprise part of the population share the tendency, is not the phenomenon more accurately described as regional (or national) rather than Catholic? And to what extent is the Catholic church responsible for people who attend its services and partake of its sacraments while rejecting its moral position? Must a church reject all sinners from its ranks, limiting its ministrations to the righteous? We have difficulty finding the precise intent of the assertion that "the Catholic church is racist."

There is dubious logic as well in the conclusion, at least when drawn without close examination of the circumstances, that leaders who fail to inhibit the racist policies of their followers are abdicating moral responsibility. There are major fallacies in the "great man theory," the attribution to officially designated leaders of much power to alter the course of events. Bridges suggests, for example, that the administrator is more often a "pawn" than an "origin" in decision-making; that he more often responds, as a matter of necessity, to the initiatives of his "followers," rather than providing the initiatives that his position seems to imply.[15] Or as one of the best known students of organizational behavior observes, "In a very real sense, the leader, or the superior, is merely a bus driver whose passengers will leave him unless he takes them in the direction they wish to go. They leave him only minor discretion as to the road to be followed."[16] Some efforts to exercise "strong leadership" merely backfire.

The progress made toward racial justice in Catholic schools in Louisiana seems very considerable in comparison with the record of the other (nonCatholic) nonpublic schools in the state as a total group. The achievement is less impressive when other benchmarks are used. The Research Department of the National Catholic Educational Association (NCEA) reports that 66.7 per cent of black students in Catholic elementary and secondary schools in the Southeast were enrolled in the fall of 1970 in schools whose student bodies were from 80 to 100 per cent black.[17] This fact, NCEA suggests, "left Catholic schools . . . somewhat behind the times," for a survey by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare had shown that only 41 per cent of black public school students were equally segregated.[18] Similar comparisons with public schools in Louisiana are equally unflattering to the Catholic schools (see chapter 3). However, one must remember that Catholic schools, catering mostly to children from Catholic homes, have a far smaller proportion of available black children to "work with" in achieving integration than do the public schools. Furthermore, public and Catholic leaders, when attempting to desegregate schools in the face of deep-rooted opposition, must reckon with dissimilar realities. Relationships between church officials and the people without whom Catholic schools cannot survive are much more voluntaristic than is generally recognized. This is no medieval church whose threat of damnation makes strong men tremble. Within a given parish, Catholic parents are free to send their children or withdraw them. Parishioners may give or withhold the necessary donations. Abetted by a drastic decentralization, patrons, principals, and teachers often find it easy to sabotage, unobtrusively but effectively, policies that a bishop or school superintendent thinks he has established.

But the effort of Louisiana's Catholic schools on the racial issue is discouraging even when compared with the record of Catholic schools in the Southeast as a whole, as data in chapter 3 make clear, especially since Louisiana has an unusually large proportion of blacks among its Catholics.[19] According to estimates by officials in each diocese, 10.0 per cent of Catholics in the Archdiocese of New Orleans, 7.5 per cent in the Diocese of Alexandria, 9.7 per cent in the Diocese of Baton Rouge, and 25.0 per cent in the Diocese of Lafayette are black. It is difficult to make defensible comparisons among the four

Catholic dioceses within the state, for their circumstances differ in numerous respects, though on the surface it appears that the most significant "thrust" by diocesan officials toward integration in Catholic schools is found in the Archdiocese of New Orleans, followed by the Diocese of Baton Rouge, the Diocese of Lafayette, and the Diocese of Alexandria, in that order.

Our inquiries suggest that Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel of New Orleans, in the light of numerous policies he initiated after 1949 or so, probably must be acknowledged as the first major religious or secular leader in Louisiana to launch a frontal attack on racial segregation. His initiative faltered after 1955 or so, partly because he was becoming aged and infirm, and partly, perhaps, because he was sufficiently astute to recognize the consequences of hasty actions on his part. Numerous close confidants were urging Rummel to move more forcefully, but in the light of the strong opposition discussed in chapter 3, we find ourselves unable to suggest, as others have done, that the lonely archbishop, surrounded by many segregationist priests and hostile parishioners, would successfully have desegregated the Catholic schools much earlier, had he only found the courage to try. On the other hand, evidence in chapter 3 suggests that successful steps to integrate Catholic schools--including steps of a very limited nature--in the dioceses of Alexandria and Lafayette would not have been taken unless the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and newly militant black Catholic groups had forced the bishops to act. It is hard to make a case for the church's moral leadership under these circumstances. But even here, we must recognize the difficulties the prelates face in deciding when to move, and how, in the face of much hostility.

Part of the racial separation now characterizing Catholic schools in Louisiana is attributable to the fact that many new Catholic schools were created in the suburbs in the 1950's and 1960's--areas still so predominantly white that the Catholic schools remain largely segregated. John Patrick Cody (now Cardinal Cody of the Archdiocese of Chicago), Archbishop Rummel's successor in New Orleans, has been criticized particularly in this regard. But even in this connection, it is difficult to apportion blame. Between 1950 and 1960, according to the New Orleans City Planning Commission, there was a net "out-migration" of 41,017 persons from the City of New Orleans.[20] Most people leaving the city were whites. There is no way of determining how much of this "white-flight" was sparked by racial intolerance. The city planning commission attributes the population loss largely to the fact that, while new residential subdivisions were being made available outside city boundaries, there was relatively little construction in the city itself, where most available land was swampy and therefore expensive to use. Comfortable homes, in neighborhoods congenial to the rearing of children, were much less costly in the suburbs than in the city, as a rule. There is some logic in the commission's argument, for now that more construction is occurring within the city (landfill is being trucked into the swampy areas), the population of New Orleans seems to be growing again. On the other hand, real estate developers are usually shrewd enough to find out what communities are attractive to prospective buyers.

Some people may have been leaving the city partly out of disenchantment with urban public schools, in keeping with a pattern evident in many other parts of the nation, though as we noted in chapter 2, the Jefferson (Civil) Parish public schools are perhaps in as much trouble as the New Orleans city schools. In addition, some families may have deserted the city of New Orleans to improve their economic status through employment in the relatively few new industries that have located in nearby suburbs in recent years. Some moved because FHA loans were available for suburban construction, but not for the renovation of many residential structures that are common in New Orleans.

At any rate, Catholics were part of the city-to-suburbs migration. Others moved in, not from New Orleans, but from other parts of the nation. Often they found themselves in areas without Catholic schools. If Archbishop Cody believed in the religious efficacy of Catholic education and was concerned about the spiritual welfare of his people, it would have been difficult for him to refuse to help provide new schools in the suburbs in response to their requests. He had little reason to view all these people as racists.

3. To what extent, if any, have nonpublic schools in Louisiana served as havens for white segregationists at a time when nearby public schools were attempting to desegregate?

There is ample evidence in chapter 3 that when major steps were taken in the fall of 1969 to integrate the public schools of Louisiana, Catholic leaders in the dioceses of Alexandria, Lafayette, and Baton Rouge permitted a significant number of white students to transfer from the public schools to the Catholic schools. What was occurring should have been obvious, since a major proportion of these new afficionados of Catholic education were Protestants. As we noted earlier, it is not always easy to differentiate racists from parents who may be tranferring their children for enlightened, moral reasons. But our informants insist unanimously that public school integration in these dioceses (in contrast with the violence-plagued integration of public schools in New Orleans in 1962-63) took place with little or no disruption. While our evidence is insufficient to support an assertion that the Catholic schools were serving as havens for segregationists, the circumstances are most compromising, as Catholic leaders should have recognized at the time. The policies of these officials were hardly well calculated to inspire public trust or set a moral example.

The position of many other nonpublic schools at the time is even more difficult to defend, of course--especially the large group of nonCatholic schools that virtually doubled in enrollment in the fall of 1969.

4. What logic, if any, lies behind the perpetuation of nonpublic schools attended exclusively, or almost exclusively, by blacks?

According to data introduced in chapter 3, 70.4 per cent of black youngsters in the Catholic elementary schools of the Archdiocese of New Orleans were in schools where more than 80 per cent of the students were black in 1970-71. The corresponding figures were 86 per cent in the Diocese of Alexandria, 53.6 per cent in the Diocese of Baton Rouge, and 92.6 per cent in the Diocese of Lafayette. The other (nonCatholic) nonpublic schools in Louisiana may be ignored in this particular, since they cater almost exclusively to whites.

In a national study by Broderick published in 1970, many Catholics spoke approvingly of efforts to preserve inner-city Catholic schools that served blacks predominantly or exclusively, largely because these schools were viewed as providing blacks with educational opportunities much superior to those available in inner-city public schools.[21] We encountered similar perceptions in Louisiana. In Louisiana, furthermore, unlike the nation as a whole, many all-black Catholic schools have been operating for many years. They performed particularly vital functions, it appears, during the decades when much public schooling for blacks was seriously substandard, and as a consequence, many blacks still display strong loyalties toward these Catholic schools. Even in areas of Louisiana outside the inner cities, some all-black Catholic schools may still be providing essential services, as one case study reported in chapter 3 strongly suggests.

As another rationale for preserving Catholic schools catering exclusively or predominantly to blacks, numerous black Catholics in Louisiana argue that racial integration in the schools should often be delayed until it can be effectuated under conditions more favorable to the interests of black people. In keeping with this argument we encountered evidence that when steps toward racial integration were taken in the Catholic schools of the state, blacks were generally consulted less than whites. When black and white schools were "consolidated" and one of the buildings abandoned, the premises of the black school were almost always selected for the honor. Usually the blacks, rather than the whites, were asked to attend where they would be in the minority, vulnerable to prejudice. While some white parents found themselves paying less tuition than previously, black parents usually found themselves paying more. In defense of diocesan officials, however, we must point out that since whites flee the presence of blacks much oftener than blacks flee the presence of whites, it may often appear more crucial to placate whites than to protect the interests of blacks when steps toward integration are taken. Nevertheless, many blacks in Louisiana report that they are no longer interested in racial integration that is arranged on the white man's terms, with little attention to the wishes and feelings of black people. They describe these tendencies as demeaning, and insist that it is preferable under the circumstances, at least in the short run, to maintain all-black institutions, where blacks may govern their own destinies, indulge their own interests, and strengthen their own sense of identity. These contentions cannot lightly be dismissed.

5. What dilemmas confront nonpublic schoolmen who may attempt to achieve greater racial justice in the future?

In terms of the discussion just concluded, it is evident that further steps to integrate Catholic education in Louisiana may, unless great care is exercised, be taken at the expense of black students and parents. It seems evident, for example, that the closure of many Catholic schools has resulted at least partly from the demand of federal officials for an end to "racial dualism," but the interests of black people may often have been sacrificed in the process. Finances have been another reason for abandoning black Catholic schools, though black interviewees bitterly observe that many all-white Catholic schools would not exist if diocese-wide funds (including some monies raised in poor black parishes) had not been used to help establish them. Yet many white Catholics are angry at present over the alleged "preferential treatment" of black Catholics, and would almost certainly resist dramatically increased subsidies for predominantly black schools.

If some diocesan officials continue to assume (as they appear to have done in the past) that the way to assure the success of school "pairings" and other pro-integration efforts is to favor whites over blacks in the planning, the results may be largely counterproductive.

Another serious enigma results from an undeniable commitment of "religious" teachers to black families in Louisiana. By allocating their services (which are provided at exceptionally low cost) primarily to all-black or predominantly black schools, they are, in effect, helping ensure that costs will be considerably lower in these schools than in schools with larger proportions of whites, thus making it more difficult for black families (many of whom have very modest incomes) to shift to well integrated schools.

Some leaders argue with considerable cogency that rational policies for Catholic schools, especially with respect to racial integration, will come about only when the extreme decentralization of the "non-system" is abandoned--when human and material resources for the schools are marshalled and allocated on a much broader geographical basis than the parish (perhaps the diocese) in terms of truly equitable "equalization" formulas. At the present time, however, fiscal redistribution arrangements are almost certain to be blocked by the well-to-do whites who hold major power levers and purse strings in the Catholic church, just as citizens in privileged public school districts have repeatedly resisted attempts to improve the education of the poor at their expense. The religious orders, furthermore, will be reluctant to relinquish the right to determine where their own members will serve. More than once in Louisiana, they have used this prerogative to goad local and diocesan officials toward more forceful moral action.

A dilemma to which we have already alluded earlier concerns the possibility that the current commitment of "religious" teachers to black people in Louisiana is being made at the expense of poor rural whites.

A torturous paradox confronts Catholic leaders who may think it advisable, as an approach to racial equity or for other reasons, to abandon Catholic elementary and secondary schools: for purposes of religious education, the church seems as yet to have developed no acceptable substitute.

But for present purposes, the overarching conundrum is one discussed earlier in this chapter and at considerable length in chapter 3: Leaders in nonpublic schools in Louisiana and elsewhere who strive for racial justice must do so while maintaining a necessary basis of support in a racist society. If these leaders move too quickly, they may destroy their own influence by making it impossible for their schools to continue operating. If they move too slowly, they may alienate the black citizens they hope to help, along with whites who demand progress toward a more just society. It will often be difficult, and sometimes impossible, to determine whether the pace such leaders adopt is too fast or too slow in the light of the complex conditions of a particular area.

6. What dilemmas confront government agencies striving to mandate racial justice in the state's elementary and secondary schools?

Few people in Louisiana seem inclined to argue that the racial desegregation achieved in the state thus far would have occurred without coercion from the federal courts. But in producing that progress, the courts have had to overcome their traditional reluctance to intrude upon administrative territory, and some serious negative consequences may have resulted. It is no insult to the intelligence or integrity of federal justices to observe that policies made in courtrooms often exhibit inflexibility and inadequate awareness of special local conditions. Several possibilities may warrant further investigation in this regard. Some Louisiana parents report that white children are often bused to allegedly integrated schools where they have no significant contact whatsoever with black children, for blacks and whites attend different classes, eat lunch separately, and frolic at different ends of the playground. Many parents seem to be losing interest in their public schools, partly because children are shifted from building to building repeatedly, in apparently arbitrary fashion, and partly because important decisions seem to be made by judicial officers who are ill-acquainted with the situation.

Possibly the federal courts have made their point in Louisiana--that significant racial integration must occur in the public schools. Evidence was cited in chapter 3 to indicate that a great deal has been accomplished in the last two years in this regard. Perhaps a period of consolidation is needed--a "breathing space" in which public educators can calm the fears of their constituents and reestablish an element of stability and predictability. In the opinion of many well informed observers in Louisiana, much of the recent growth of segregationist academies is attributable to confusion surrounding the desegregation of the public schools. But one could argue, on the other hand, that the courts must at all costs capitalize on the breakthrough they have finally produced more than 15 years after the Brown decision of 1954.

In some instances, one could argue that the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) has been too tolerant in permitting federal funds to continue flowing into Catholic dioceses that fail to produce the minimal school integration they have promised. In other instances, as we have seen, pressures from HEW seem to have been destructive of the interests of black people. At some points, unrelenting demands from Washington seem salutary. At other junctures, they seem harmful. Ideally, plans to counteract complex local problems seem best made by local people, black and white, who are intimately acquainted with the realities that must be faced. But when local leaders will not act, federal officials may need to intrude, even at some risk of misjudgment. As one suggestion in this regard, we think HEW should reexamine its apparent assumption that schools catering predominantly to one race are harmful under all conditions, including the self-segregation of black people who wish to govern their own affairs and promote a strong sense of identity. The premise is unsubstantiated by any evidence of which we are aware.[22]

Careful inquiries should no doubt be launched into the "under-the-table" help some local government agencies (including public school boards) reportedly are extending to "segregationist academies." In connection with such litigation as the Opelousas lawsuit discussed in chapters 3 and 8, furthermore, strong arguments can be raised for the intervention of the courts into the affairs of nonpublic schools that enjoy unavoidable public assistance (police and fire protection, for example), yet impede efforts toward racial justice. But on the other hand, a precedent might be set that would soon make nonpublic schools "public" for all practical purposes, thus destroying them as a significant alternative to public education.[23]

As some readers no doubt have noticed, we have offered few recommendations, even by implication, and have devoted much attention to dilemmas. The emphasis is deliberate. Race-related events seem to be the most powerful explanatory variables so far as recent enrollment fluctuations in Louisiana's nonpublic schools are concerned. Yet the more one studies these events, the more complex they seem. Under these circumstances, scholars are well advised to demonstrate a little caution. Perhaps the major contribution of this study, at least so far as those who read it thoroughly are concerned, is that it demonstrates in unprecedented detail how convoluted are the issues of nonpublic schooling in one Southern state.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Donald A. Erickson and George F. Madaus, *Issues of Aid to Nonpublic Schools*, Vols. 1-4 (with John D. Donovan as co-author of Vol. 2), Final Report to the President's Commission on School Finance (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: Center for Field Research and School Services, Boston College, June, 1971, offset).

[2] The following focal questions were identified in the study proposal accepted by the President's Commission on School Finance:

(a) During the last five years or so, what has been the ebb and flow of public and nonpublic school enrollment in Louisiana, especially in the context of major trends identified in our earlier work (e.g., cost increases, decisions regarding public support, decreasing supply of religious teachers, demographic changes)?

(b) To what extend have these trends in the localities under study been spontaneously generated by client decisions, and to what extend initiated or influenced by education, ecclesiastical, or political leaders? Who have been the major actors at the critical decision points? What processes may be documented? Do the relationships differ among major types of nonpublic schools?

(c) What interaction has occurred between public and nonpublic schools during the period under study? In what ways has the interaction been affected by the above-mentioned trends? What have been the apparent results, for public and nonpublic schools and for the larger community, of these interactions? (Special attention will be given to cooperative arrangements for relieving fiscal pressures on nonpublic schools, such as leasing arrangements and shared time, services, and facilities.)

(d) What state and federal assistance has been extended to or withdrawn from nonpublic schools, by means of what processes, and with what apparent consequences?

(e) What auguries seem most logical concerning the future of various groups of nonpublic schools in Louisiana? How do these compare with predictions in other states by Erickson and Madaus? How may the differences (if any) most plausibly be explained? What are the probable consequences of these predictions with respect to public and nonpublic education and the general weal?

[3] Erickson and Madaus, *Issues of Aid*, Vol. 2.

[4] See chapter 1 for a complete definition of the regional breakdown. The Southeast was comprised of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia.

[5] In Catholic parlance, this phrase refers to teachers who are members of the clergy or are affiliated with religious orders. Teachers not so characterized are labelled "lay" teachers.

[6] The case studies were done by Louisiana individuals and teams, with the exception of Bruce Cooper of Chicago, whose study of two "alternative" schools appears in chapter 5.

[7] See, for instance, Peter Schrag, *Village School Downtown: Boston Schools, Boston Politics* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967).

[8] John D. Donovan and George F. Madaus, *Catholic Education in the Archdiocese of Boston: The Voices of the People* (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: New England Catholic Education Center, 1969).

[9] *Ibid*. Also see Donald A. Erickson, *Crisis in Illinois Nonpublic Schools* (Springfield, Ill.: Elementary and Secondary Nonpublic Schools Study Commission, State of Illinois, 1971).

[10] Ian Menzies, "Boston Schools at Low Ebb," *Boston Globe*, March 18, 1971: Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs?* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), pp. 147-150; Neal Gross, *Who Runs Our Schools?* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958), pp. 27-30.

[11] See Appendix B, Volume 4, Erickson and Madaus, *Issues of Aid to Nonpublic Schools*.

[12] See, for example, John I. Goodlad and Robert H. Anderson, "Educational Practices in Nongraded Schools: A Survey of Perceptions," *Elementary School Journal*, 63 (Oct., 1962), 33-40; Robert H. Anderson and John I. Goodlad, "Self-Appraisal in Nongraded Schools: A Survey of Findings and Perceptions," *ibid*., (Feb., 1962), 261-69; Joseph W. Halliwell, "A Comparison of Pupil Achievement in Graded and Nongraded Primary Classrooms," *Journal of Experimental Education*, 32 (Fall, 1963), 59-64; Donald A. Erickson,"Change Agentry and the Nongraded Program," in Richard I. Miller, ed., *The Nongraded School: Analysis and Study* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1967), pp. 59-71; John I. Goodlad, M. Francis Klein and Associates, *Behind the Classroom Door* (Worthington, O.: Charles A. Jones Publishing Company, 1970); Ronald Gross, "From Innovations to Alternatives: A Decade of Change in Education," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 52 (Sept., 1971), 22-24.

[13] John D. Donovan, Donald A. Erickson, and George F. Madaus, *The Social and Religious Sources of the Crisis in Catholic Schools*, Vol. 2 of Erickson and Madaus, *Issues of Aid to Nonpublic Schools*.

[14] Donovan, Erickson, and Madaus, *Social and Religious Sources*.

[15] Edwin M. Bridges, "Administrative Man: Origin or Pawn in Decision Making?" *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 6 (Winter, 1970), 7-25.

[16] Herbert A. Simon, *Administrative Behavior* (2d ed.; New York: Free Press, 1957), p. 134.

[17] Research Department, National Catholic Educational Association, *A Report on U. S. Catholic Schools, 1970-71* (Washington, D. C.: the Association, 1971), p. 40.

[18] *Ibid*.

[19] According to one estimate, 21 per cent of all Catholics in the nation live in Louisiana. See William D. Broderick, *The Catholic Church and Black Americans in 1970* (Case Study, Twelfth Session, Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy; Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of State, 1970, offset), p. 1.

[20] New Orleans City Planning Commission, Community Renewal Program: New Orleans, Louisiana (New Orleans, City of New Orleans, 1971), p. 46.

[21] Broderick, The Catholic Church, p. 8.

[22] After reviewing studies conducted over a fifteen-year period, for example, Carithers concludes: ". . . It is not enough to ask, 'What are the effects of desegregation?' The question is too borad, too vague. More precise questions are needed, questions which focus upon the social groupings and social processes accompanying desegregation. . . . No one has systematically set up the kind of group experiments which would allow an assessment of racial cleavage under different conditions of desegregation. . . . Our fifteen years of scholarship look weak indeed. We simply do not know what happens to whom under what conditions of school desegregation." Martha W. Carithers, "School Desegregation and Racial Cleavage, 1954-1970: A Review of the Literature," Journal of Social Issues, 26 (Autumn, 1970), 25-47.

[23] For an excellent discussion of this issue, see William B. Ball, "A Roman Catholic Viewpoint," in Donald A. Erickson, ed., Public Controls for Nonpublic Schools (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 187-97.

PART II

ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIALS

5. TWO "ALTERNATIVE" SCHOOLS

by Bruce Cooper

So far as I have been able to determine, Louisiana has only two unusual "alternative schools," both of which are located in New Orleans. They are the Free School, a private experimental school for children ages five to eleven; and Gateway High School, a public program for high school juniors and seniors. The Free School may be called "radical" in that it gives no tests or grades and implements the philosophy of the "open classroom." Patterned after the British infant schools, this program permits children to select, from among a number of activities, those that interest them.[1] "Open schools" are appearing all across the country, within public systems as well as outside of them, as reactions to the rigidity of conventional education. The Free School has meager funds--only $12,000 for about 40 children, or $300 per child.

Gateway High School, on the other hand, is well-funded. Its budget was about $100,000 for 100 students, ($1,000 per pupil) in the spring of 1971, and $167,000 for 140 students ($1,193 per student) during its second year (1971-1972). It is the nation's third "school without walls," following the Parkway School of Philadelphia and the Metro High School of Chicago.[2] It has a more structured program than the Free School, in that it provides definite activities in specific places at particular times. But the concept of the "school without walls" frees the students to become involved in the life of their community. The school's educational program, a recent evaluation of the Metro School explained, is built on two premises:

1. Students must have control over the direction of their own learning;

2. The resources of the entire city, including its businesses, its cultural institutions, and its community organizations, must become a laboratory for learning.[3]

Both the Gateway High School and the Free School are radical experiments in education. Both extend new options to the student: Gateway offers the entire city of New Orleans; the Free School offers the student his choice of any indoor or outdoor activity within the school or its neighborhood. Both re-define the role of "teacher" as that of a facilitator, one who supports the child in his academic pursuits, rather than one who directs or coerces. And both assume that schools should rightfully provide a series of "present experiences that live fruitfully and creatively in subsequent experiences,"[4] whether at school or in the community.

This comparative case study will describe in some detail Gateway and the Free School. The purpose in juxtaposing a public and private alternative is to allow some points of comparison to come forth. We shall see that as experiments, both programs defy conventionality in their approaches to education. They both wrestle with the problems of black children in a Southern community that still exhibits racial discrimination. Both are trying in different ways to have an impact upon the public educational system of New Orleans. But as we shall see from our comparisons, they face different difficulties.

Thus the rationale behind the choice of these two schools is (1) that they are the only radically experimental schools in Louisiana, (2) that they share characteristics which highlight the strengths and weaknesses of experimental education, (3) that their differences expose some of the advantages and disadvantages of public versus nonpublic educational innovations, and (4) that the depth of our analysis of each program will be heightened by reference to the other.

The methodology of this study is eclectic. We begin by some on-site observations. Impressions are presented concerning the types, attitudes and behaviors of students; the use of facilities and equipment; the attitude of staff; and the atmosphere at the two schools. Second, we relate these impressions to innovative schools elsewhere. In the case of Gateway, we shall allude to Metro in Chicago and Opportunity I and II (the latter are public alternative programs in San Francisco for low-income students). In the case of the Free School, we shall make comparisons with descriptions by Joseph Featherstone of the British infant schools.[5] Third, we shall use the literature of the alternative school movement as a basis for discussing the concepts of "freedom" and "authority" as they are used by participants in these two programs. And fourth, we shall critically examine documents produced by these schools as one means of understanding and evaluating their programs.

The Free School

The Free School, formerly the Rampart Street Free School, is a lively program for children ages 5 to 11. Run along the lines of an "open classroom" school, it features an unstructured, non-authoritarian atmosphere in which children are free to participate in whatever activities interest them. Located in an old plantation house on a narrow, crowded residential street, the school enjoys the use of seven rooms on the main floor, plus two other rooms in a separate building. Rooms are set aside for reading ("the library"), sciences, music crafts, a store (selling candy and drinks), and meetings. Upstairs--off limits to students--are residences and offices for some of the staff: the rent on the upstairs pays the costs of the school facilities. And the grounds surrounding the buildings are small but adequate, supporting a number of activities. One finds a tree house under construction, an old garage containing an old car in and on which the children play, and grass for work and play. When it rains, water flowing across the grounds creates a small rivulet. The children take the opportunity to cool themselves in the water.

The Children

As I approached the address on Chippewa Street, the old plantation house looked like any other dwelling, except a little larger, a little grayer, and much busier. Spilling out of the doors were the 30 children, emerging in all colors, shapes, and sizes. I was struck with their toughness and vigor. Signs of worry and anxiety were absent; an openness and friendliness pervaded the school, even when a "stranger" was around. A. S. Neill, founder and Headmaster of England's 43 year old Summerhill School, the prototype of the "free school," commented similarly about his students: "Children make contact with strangers more easily when fear is unknown to them.... The fact that Summerhill children are so exceptionally friendly to visitors and strangers is a source of pride to me and my staff."[6]

The "kick" the children were on while I was visiting the Free School was a combination of American free enterprise, concern for the total environment, and robbing Peter to pay Paul. The students were scrounging old soda bottles which they could sell to one of the fathers for 1/2 cent a bottle on no-deposit and 5 cents for deposit bottles. The youngsters were dragging bottles from everywhere, learning industry and some mathematics as well, for before they could claim their payment they had to multiply the number of bottles by 5 cents or 1/2 cent.

The children were evenly distributed between ages 5 and 11; but in spite of this range, I saw little bullying or fighting. The eleven year olds were of some concern to the staff: these children needed special attention since their interests were more advanced than those of the younger children. At times the older students became bored, for the program was geared for somewhat younger children. But the staff had devoted several meetings to a discussion of these older pupils and was setting up some special trips and programs for them.

The student group reflects the racial and socioeconomic composition of the city of New Orleans. Table 1 shows the number of families in the school, number of children in the school per family, the occupations of the father and/or mother, and each child's racial identification.

Table 5/1-Families at the Free School, 1971-1972, with Number of Children and Ethnic, Occupational, and Socioeconomic Status

Family	Occupation	Class	No. of children at the school.	Race
#1	Butcher	Lower	2	White
#2	Student father Working mother	Middle	2	White
#3	Fireman	Lower	2	White
#4	Mother teacher	Middle	1	White
#5	Truck driver	Lower	2	White
#6	Unemployed mother	Lower	1	Black
#7	Salesman	Middle	3	White
#8	Episcopal minister	Middle	3	White
#9	Welfare mother	Lower	2	Black
#10	Guardian: nurse's aid	Lower	1	Black
#11	Mother professor	Middle	1	White
#12	Unknown: mother and father work	Middle	1	Black
#13	Unknown: white collar	Middle	2	White
#14	Laborer	Lower	1	Black
#15	Mother cook	Lower	3	Black
#16	Border patrol	Lower	2	White
#17	Mother unemployed	Middle	2	Black
#18	Student	Middle	1	White
		Total	32	

The balance according to occupation is 50 per cent lower and 50 per cent middle socio-economic status, lumping blue collar and welfare together. The racial distribution is roughly one-third black, two-thirds white. Table 5/2 indicates the breakdown, by race and SES, of the 32 children in the school.

Table 5/2 --Distribution of Children by Race and Socio-economic Status.

	RACE		
Socio-economic Status	Black (34.4%)	White (65.6%)	Totals (100.00%)
Lower (50%)	8	8	16
Middle (50%)	3	13	16
Totals	11	21	32

Since there is no tuition at the Free School, families of any income or occupational status may participate. We see a range of occupations: a fireman, border patrolman, salesman, cook, butcher, truck driver, some unemployed, a minister, several teachers, university students, etc.

The Purpose and Philosophy of the Free School

The school was started by Robert Ferris with $10,000 from his inheritance. It opened on July 15, 1971, as a self-conscious model to influence the public schools, "by being the 'cutting edge' of educational reform," to quote a recent proposal.[7] The school has three interrelated purposes:

First, it wants to show families in New Orleans that multi-racial education can work. Since court-enforced desegregation began in the late fifties, whites have been withdrawing steadily from public schools in New Orleans. The Free School is a living example of how the needs of whites and blacks, prosperous and poor, can be met in the same program. It charges no tuition. Thus the poor can attend. It is a community school. Located on Chippewa Street, it is within walking distance for many poor whites and blacks. It has a fully integrated staff, student body, and Board of Directors. Parental inputs, which we shall discuss later, help the school fulfill this purpose of meeting the needs of diverse families.

As for its second purpose, the school wishes to demonstrate the advantages of the open classroom. Based on the work of Piaget and Bruner, the reasoning goes, "the open classroom method attempts to make this self-pacing possible by offering a carefully designed environment, richly packed with all sorts of materials of high teaching quality and the atmosphere conducive to interaction with the teacher and/or fellow students."[8]

The third and primary purpose is to bring about changes in the public school system. The reasoning is that white parents, concerned about both integration and the overly authoritarian nature of public schools, will return their children to public schools if and when the system institutes changes in the instructional milieu. Once this is done, the proposal explains, "_the raison d'etre_ of the Free School will cease, and thus the school will have achieved its ultimate success."[9]

Impact on the Public Schools

Already the Free School can document some successes. For example, a series of five "open classroom" projects are being instituted in the New Orleans public schools. At Lusher Elementary School, located in a mostly middle-class neighborhood near Tulane University, parents pressured the principal, the superintendent, and even the Board of Education, for permission to try the same innovations. The original idea for open classrooms came from a number of sources: from Featherstone's book on the British infant school,[10] from a conference held in New Orleans on open schools, and from contact with the Free School. When parents like Jack McCullom decided to set up an open classroom at Lusher, they turned for help to Bob Ferris and his staff at the Free School. Ferris made a presentation to Lusher parents about free education, complete with slides and tapes. The response was mixed. Some parents were excited; other were upset about giving children so much freedom. In either case, the Free School presented one model to which parents could react.

The success of Lusher's experiment reportedly has been extraordinary. Sixty-eight families applied for the thirty available seats. Four white families moved from other elementary districts into Lusher's in hopes of gaining admittance. A dual lottery system was employed--one for black families and one for whites--to insure a balance racially. A second class was opened in October, making six throughout the city. Parents at Lusher still have no formal mechanism for controlling the education of their children. They influence policy (1) by participating as teacher aides in the classroom, (2) by meeting regularly with the principal, and (3) by lobbying with the public school board and superintendent.

At McDonogh 15 Elementary School, the Free School has had impact in a different way. Through Martha Howden, a volunteer at the Free School and a student teacher at McDonogh, the practices of open education are being instituted at McDonogh 15.[11] Miss Howden is able in some cases to implement ideas from the private experiment at the public one, though "administrative expectations" at McDonogh and downtown prevent much real innovation. She gave the example of school trips: at the Free School, staff members could carry out an idea for a trip without restrictions, whereas at McDonogh, requests to the school office and parental permission slips had to be submitted ten days in advance.

The effort is continuing at the Free School to spread the message of open, integrated education to all of New Orleans. Over 200 visitors were welcomed at the school during the first five months, including public school people, parents from Lusher, and staff and students from Tulane and Loyola universities. By its very existence, "The Free School is to be a continuous feasibility study of adapting this proven method of education [open classrooms] in the urban South in general and Orleans Parish [coterminous with New Orleans] in particular."[12]

Like many other attempts to transplant a program from one culture to another, the Free School appears to this observer to have taken the basic concept and extended it one step further: i.e., the American free school seems to have less classroom structure and less controls over learning than the British infant schools, as described by Joseph Featherstone.[13] Perhaps the key explanatory variable is the physical setting and how the staff use it. The Free School has about seven outdoor and eight indoor activity areas. The children are free to move from one to another, with little adult control or supervision. The staff members do not restrict the child's movement. In the British model, however, "The role of the teacher as active catalyst and stage manager is central," Featherstone explains:

> The idea of giving children choices is a considered judgment as to how they best learn.... It is this deep pedagogical seriousness, the attention paid to learning in the classroom, that makes the British primary school revolution so different from American progressive education.[14]

This researcher in a recent national survey of alternative schools[15] noted that other free schools were seeking to balance freedom of choice with teacher-directed activities. This school, the Free School, has sought to maximize "freedom." This emphasis has led the staff to be concerned at times that students were not receiving enough reading and mathematics instruction.

Staff members do teach reading on an individual basis, though not as systematically as in traditional programs. But even without constant teacher intervention, Featherstone explains how children in open classrooms may learn from being exposed to reading and calculation and from one another:

> At first it is hard to say just how they do learn to read since there are not separate subjects [nor "reading periods"]. A part of the answer slowly becomes clear, and it surprises American visitors used to thinking of the teacher as the generating force of education: children learn from each other. They hang around the library corners long before they can read, handling books, looking at pictures, trying to find words they do know, listening and watching as the teacher hears other children's reading. It is common to see nonreaders studying people as they read, and then imitating them, monkey doing what monkey sees. Nobody makes fun of their grave parodies, and for good reason.[16]

The program at the Free School consists of an enriched environment coupled with an atmosphere of freedom and choice--overseen by a dedicated staff of salaried teachers and parent volunteers. The activities seem to be divided between quiet "academic" subjects and creative, therapeutic "play." The utility of playful endeavors as a means of self-understanding and group cohesion has been well-documented by George Dennison in his book, The Lives of Children: The Story of the First Street School.[17] Needless to say, to both the staff and students, the division between work and play is virtually meaningless. The fluidity of activities prevents any clear-cut distinction.

The Staff

Salaried personnel are four, led by Bob Ferris, who founded the Rampart Street Free School and who subsists on a salary paid by the Southern Education Fund for his part-time work with the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee (LCDC). His job with LCDC includes doing research on the use of federal funds by public school systems. As was noted earlier, Ferris contributed $10,000 from his inheritance to launch the school. He now divides his time between the school and LCDC. Two female teachers, one certified and the other not, instruct in mathematics and reading. Science is taught by a fourth person, a black male. Numerous parents are assigned to assist during school hours. Instruction, as we commented earlier, is usually one-to-one, catch-as-catch-can; the staff members, therefore, are most often involved in tutoring or observing group play. They meet regularly in the kitchen of the upstairs residences, where I observed a strong sense of community.

Two staff members have been in the school from its inception: Bob Ferris and Ann Houston. The other two were located and chosen by parents using the following criteria: (1) "Both white and black must be essentially balanced," (2) "male and female should be proportionately balanced," and (3) "furthermore, one of the teachers should be certified in order to provide a point of reference with respect to the traditional classroom."[18] The results were the following staff:

Ann Houston	White, female, uncertified.
Harlan Kelly	Black, male, uncertified.
Sue Grieshiber	White, female, certified.
Bob Ferris	White, male, uncertified.

In the open structure of the Free School, the division of labor is unclear. Staff members work in whatever areas (math, reading, science) interest them, with those students to whom they best relate, on terms dictated by the needs of the children and the eventualities of daily school life. Since there are no assigned classes or classrooms, children and staff work together randomly. Occasionally, as personal needs emerge, a student seeks out an adult. But most often, staff and pupils cross paths as they pursue different activities. The teacher enters the child's world as attempts are made to support the child emotionally and/or assist his academic growth.

Each full-time staff member works for $400 a month on a ten month arrangement. Ferris works three-quarter-time at the school and one-quarter time for the LCDC. The other three teachers are full-time employees of the school.

The Parents

Parental involvement varies. Some parents spend long periods of time around the school. Others show up only for the monthly general meetings. Frank Boughton, for example, spends all his spare time and vacations working around the school. A fireman by training, he has turned his efforts to renovating the present plantation house. Explaining why he became interested in the school, he said: "I don't want my kids to go through what I went through. I hated school, being hassled all the time. They called me a 'troublemaker.'" He has two children in the Free School.

Another father, a student at Tulane University, also has two children enrolled. He enjoys hearty out-door activities, playing ball and rough-housing with the children. He drops by the school for a few hours almost every day.

The parents have a number of ways to influence school policy and program. They meet regularly--any parent may call a special meeting--to discuss and vote on important questions. They sit on the Board of Directors of the school, the body that hires and fires teachers. Parents also sit on the Advisory Committee, made up of both staff and elected parents. And finally, parents participate as volunteers in the workaday running of the school. They teach, tutor, and repair and maintain the buildings. As Donna Tragus reported in the Nola Express, a local underground newspaper:

> Parents can come and visit and learn with their children. I spoke to one mother who has three children at the school. She said she felt that the public school system was stifling her children's natural desire to know and learn by forcing them into neurotic caricatures of human beings, full of fears and frustrations.[19]

Mrs. Pat Watts, a black parent, explained that the Free School was able to balance in children a sense of joy with a love of learning: "My children's last semester in school was the turning point in their lives. . . . They have found a world of excitement and pleasure."

The future of the Free School appears rocky. If the budget for 1971-72 is not underwritten from the federal Emergency School Assistance Program or some other source, it will be difficult to re-open next year. If the program closes, it will mean the end of the South's only independent free school, a model for multi-racial, non-authoritarian education, and the advantages of having this alternative to conventional public and private education will be lost.[20]

Gateway High School

Operated by the New Orleans Board of Education, Gateway High School, as we have noted, is a "school without walls" modeled after Metro (Chicago) and Parkway (Philadelphia).[21] It was funded during the summer of 1970, opening its doors on January 10, 1971. The initial budget for about 100 students was $100,000 from Title I of the federal *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* (ESEA).

John E. O'Dowd, Jr., Director of Secondary and Vocational Education for the New Orleans public schools, first initiated the program; M. F. Rosenberg, Assistant Superintendent for Instruction, approved it; and A. W. Cowan, then superintendent, included it as a Compensatory Education Project within a total ESEA package of four and a quarter million dollars.

Partly because it is funded under Title I, Gateway has a more restricted student body, geographically and socioeconomically, than Chicago's Metro or Philadelphia's Parkway. Gateway recruits exclusively from Model Cities areas of New Orleans; as a result, the student group was drawn exclusively from all-black homes during the first term (January to June, 1971). This year (1971-72), however, sixteen white students, most of whom have left home and moved into the French Quarter, qualify under Title I for admission to Gateway.

The school is located in St. Mark's Community Center, the religious education building attached to St. Mark's Methodist Church, which the public school board rents from the church. The atmosphere around the U-shaped building is leisurely, with groups of students moving in and out--since over half the courses are taught in the community. There are facilities at St. Mark's for about eight classes, some light recreation, and administrative operations. Students go to a nearby public high school to buy their school lunches.

Philosophy

The concept of a "school without walls," attributed to the English educator John Bremer, is to free the student from the confines of classroom walls, enabling him to learn by doing and seeing in the community. "American schools imagine students learn best in a special building separate from the community," Bremer explains:

> This has created a refuge in which students and teachers do not need to explore, only to accept. Within the "boxes" of school houses and classrooms, life is self-reflecting, with no real relation to anything outside itself, so it becomes fantasy; it becomes unreal.[22]

The resources of the city of New Orleans are utilized to teach the students both academic and "involvement" courses. Judges teach law to Gateway students in their chambers; police give instruction in law enforcement at the police station; television personnel demonstrate at the studio; businessmen show how at the office. The extent to which these community resource people really "teach" cannot be ascertained from interviews or written matter from Gateway. This analyst suspects that classes in the community do more to stimulate interest than to present unified bodies of knowledge.

Gateway is self-consciously an "alternative" to the conventional classroom instructional situation encountered in most schools. "The originators of the project," Director H. G. "Rock" Rockenbaugh explained, "felt that the dichotomy between education and life is a false creation and therefore should be abolished. Education is life--and the community should be the setting for learning." The objectives as stated are (1) "to re-create the desire for learning," (2) to expose "the student to a multiplicity of career opportunities," (3) to help "in basic skill areas," (4) "to strengthen motivation," and (5) to improve the student's "self-image."[23] These ends, the rationale continues, are to be met by removing blocks to learning, such as the walls of the school and the regimentation of pupils. The student learns "individual responsibility by selecting his own program from among the curricular and extra-curricular offerings available in the community." Career and educational opportunities are presented simultaneously to help destroy the barriers between school and life, learning and working. Finally, the objectives of Gateway are believed to be best attained by changing the image of the "teacher" from an "authoritarian functionary" to a person with "warmth and the ability to relate to students."[24]

The Students

At the end of Gateway's first semester, which ran during the spring of 1971, the staff members conducted an evaluation of the program, directed by social studies teacher Rose Drill and assisted by Professor David Brillieaux of Tulane University. It was discovered that 101 Title 1 students had participated in Gateway during the spring of 1971. Of these students, 78 per cent were over 17 years of age. Two were married, 20 lived alone, and 3 had children of their own. By June, 1971, the students were grouped as follows:

44	Tenth graders
47	Eleventh graders
10	Whites
91	Blacks
49	Girls
52	Boys
7	Held full-time jobs
20	Held part-time jobs

The evaluation was geared to show any changes in pupil self-concept and work habits over the semester. The results indicated that 29 per cent of the students believed themselves to be working to maximum capacity, 37 per cent said they were working diligently, and 34 said they were just getting by. As to their perceptions of earlier experiences: 23 per cent felt they had previously worked to capacity, 30 per cent, diligently, and 47 per cent, just to get by. Fifty-six per cent felt that they were learning more at Gateway than in other settings. Only 3 per cent admitted attending school faithfully before Gateway; this proportion had risen to 15 per cent during the semester at Gateway. And 54 per cent felt they had more "ability" than they had had before.[25] The validity of these data is questionable. Asking subjects to contrast their feelings at two points in time can be risky. Some objective, independent measure of improved habits and attitudes is needed before the results can be fully accepted.

It would appear to this observer that Gateway students are working within a somewhat contradictory situation. On the one hand, as an experimental project, a "school without walls," Gateway is a show-case school. It can be pointed to by the central administration and Board of Education as an example of their efforts to modernize and innovate. But on the other hand, Gateway functions as a dumping-ground for the troublesome, truant, cast-offs of the system. Listed as a "dropout prevention" program under Title I, Gateway accepts students according to the following criteria: "Repeated failures in academic areas, Repeated referral to Counselor for discipline problems, Chronic truancy, Referral to Counselor for emotional problems, Severe disagreements with parents, Trouble with the law, and Dropouts from high school."[26] "In no regular school in Orleans Parish [coterminous with the City of New Orleans] can the students described above function normally, because they are not normal students." Despite these labels, the leadership and staff have proceeded to treat the students like the more heterogeneous groups of Chicago's Metro and Philadelphia's Parkway Schools. The results appear promising: As Table 5/3 indicates, a high proportion of the students are receiving credit for courses taken at Gateway. In English, for example, 85 per cent of those enrolled gained credit; in Mathematics, 65 per cent received credit.

Table 5/3-Student Enrollment and Credits Received at Gateway School, Spring 1971.

Subject	No. of Students Enrolled by Department	Credit	No Credit*	Incomplete
English	101	86	6	9
Social Studies	86	75	4	7
Mathematics	61	40	12	9
Science	63	50	5	8
Art	38	37	1	0
Foreign Language	24	22	2	0
Homemaking	35	27	1	0
Physical Education	90	80	10	0
Reading	80	75	0	5

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*No grade of "Fail" is given at Gateway, but students who do not complete a course satisfactorily are not given credit.

The high percentages completing the work, particularly in the light of the recruitment criteria mentioned earlier, seem to indicate some progress, though actual improvement in all these skill areas cannot be determined from a credit, no-credit system.

The Staff

Six full-time faculty members at Gateway are assisted by 73 community resource personnel. The six teachers include three men and three women, all certified to teach in Louisiana. They all work in several subject and interest areas. One, for example, teaches Spanish, French, English, and swimming. Another handles the social studies program with a variety of courses like "Third and Independent Parties," "Urbanization," and "Drugs and Alcohol." At the conclusion of the first semester, in June 1971, the teachers recommended that more than six staff members be provided to handle the diverse classes and to coordinate the programs in the community. The teachers believed that a lower student-teacher ratio would enable more attention to be paid to student problems. They also recommended that staff members be hired earlier to permit more planning.

The 73 community resources personnel function as teachers and aides for no salary. Among this group are 27 college-trained people and 24 candidates for degrees. The remainder are community people and skilled artisans. The list includes:

Professional People

Ph.D.	1	1 Drama
M.A.	7	3 Biology 3 Social Studies 1 Drama
B.S.	6	1 Science 1 Accounting 4 Mathematics
D.D.	1	1 Comparative Religion
LL.B.	9	2 Judges 6 Lawyers 1 Banker

Candidates for Degrees

M.A.	1	1 Liberal Arts
B.S.	4	4 Science
B.A.	19	19 Education

"Working as a team," the recent evaluation reports, "the regular staff and the community helpers planned new courses, wrote course descriptions and objectives, organized materials, arranged for space in the community, and ultimately taught courses as part of the Gateway curriculum."[27] Forty-two per cent of the students listed the community classes as the most enjoyable phase of Gateway's program.

An Evaluation

At the conclusion of the last academic year, June, 1971, the regular staff made a series of suggestions, many of which we have already touched upon.

Suggestion 1: That Gateway be removed from Title I and be placed under regular public school board funding.

Suggestion 2: That recruitment be widened through city-wide publicity in order to integrate the student body both ethnically and socio-economically.

Suggestion 3: That the staff be enlarged to handle the complexities of a school without walls.

Suggestion 4: That the school be enlarged to support more diversity.

Suggestion 5: That students be sent back to conventional programs after six weeks if they could not handle the freedom of Gateway.

Suggestion 6: That Gateway become more involved with the community as parents become more active in school affairs.[28]

Being a public "alternative" school, Gateway needs large sums of money. Teachers are hired at the state salary scale, buildings are maintained by school system personnel, and services are provided at the level of conventional programs. Thus Gateway must be funded at a high level, in comparison to private alternatives. The Board placed Gateway under ESEA because a lump sum of $100,000 was thus available. Title I, in turn, imposed a series of requirements on Gateway which controlled its recruitment patterns. ESEA monies are designated exclusively for the disadvantaged.

The suggestions made by the staff indicate to this observer that the teachers were aware of the segregation of children under Title I. Furthermore, if Gateway is to remain a practically all-black program, then the black community (Suggestion 6) should be involved in running the school.

The strengths of the program have also been listed by the staff. According to the pre and post-questionnairing, students rated themselves as feeling more freedom and a sense of worth, were attending and participating, and were improving in academic areas over their former educational programs. These indicators are at best impressionistic; there is need for some comprehensive research on pupil improvement at Gateway. Some clear indicators that should be assembled in the future are numbers going to college, numbers finishing high school, numbers raising their scores on achievement tests, and numbers taking jobs in the community.

In San Francisco, two public programs, Opportunity I and Opportunity II, are functioning, much like Gateway, as opportunity centers for the dropouts of the system. Though the data are not in as yet, early indicators show that students placed early in a trade, as part of their high school training, make a better adjustment to the job than those not thus exposed. We must wait until data are collected to discuss the improvement of Gateway's students in skill areas. We do know that under the sensitive, humanitarian leadership of Rockenbaugh and his staff, students are receiving a second chance within the public system.

Some Points of Comparison

Gateway and the Free School are perceived by participants and onlookers as radical departures from the conventional. Both structure freedom of choice into their programs in much the same way: through the use of spatial arrangements. Gateway opens the classroom out into the community; The Free School utilizes numerous activity areas simultaneously.

Gateway has enjoyed adequate funding from Title I of the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), but finds the "guidelines" of ESEA constricting in that the school cannot recruit students for the federally funded program except in low-income (generally all-black) neighborhoods. The Free School, on the other hand, depends on the philanthropy of private sources while enjoying complete freedom in its use of those funds. Gateway is accountable to the public school superintendent's office and the Board of Education; the Free School, to a diverse parent group. Gateway must recruit only state certified teachers; the Free School may use any "teacher" who is willing to work for a small salary and who is acceptable to the parents.

Both schools are aware of the plight of black children and work to meet their needs: both provide a small, personal setting, one in which some attention can be paid to each student.

Both can boast of some success in making an impact on the public school board and administrative officials. The most recent relevant development at Gateway is that the board voted on November 2, 1971, to remove the school partially from federal support:

> Orleans Parish School Board voted Tuesday afternoon to move the Gateway School from Federal funding to state funding involving the shifting of four teacher's salaries from Title I, ESEA, funding to the state funded payroll. The Board voted, however, to maintain its enrollment restrictions for the school to Title I eligible students.[29]

In effect, this will enable Gateway to pick up four more teachers under state funding, since the state subsidizes extra teachers if they are working in "poverty impacted" areas. Out of the 1971-72 budget of $167,000, during the second semester, only $66,000 will be from ESEA, for facilities and equipment; the other funds will be supplied by the state for personnel.

Next year, the student body reportedly will be expanded to all children in the district, and perhaps a more heterogeneous group will be recruited. The tentative plan is to expand the student body to 225 and broaden Gateway's impact on the city.

The Free School's example has in part led to the creation of six open classrooms in the public system: two at Lusher, two at McDonogh 15, and two at William Elementary School. One heartening fact is that some white families have sought out a city school--even a public, integrated one--if the programs seem exciting. Another effect of the Free School and these three public school innovations has been to activate parents. One teacher has insisted that without parental pressure, there would have been no "open classroom" program at any of the public schools. "Parents for the first time are doing something about improving their children's education," he said. They are seeking to create a permanent structure at Lusher to insure continued parental input. Currently, they influence the school through informal channels. Whether parents at the Free School and at William, Lusher, and McDonogh 15 can affect enough other programs and parents, and whether Gateway can expand its student body and its influence to other secondary programs, remains to be seen.

At any rate, if alternatives like the Free School and Gateway are able to affect some changes in the public sector while serving well their own children and families, then the self-avowed mission of creative alternative schooling is fulfilled.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Joseph Featherstone, Schools Where Children Learn (New York: Liveright, 1971).

[2] Henry Resnick, "Parkway: A School Without Walls," in Ronald Gross and Paul Osterman, eds., High School (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971), pp. 248-62.

[3] The Metro School: A Report on the Progress of Chicago's Experimental "School Without Walls," (Urban Research Corporation: Chicago, 1971), p. 1.

[4] John Dewey, Experience and Education (Collier Books, New York, 1938), p.28.

[5] Featherstone, Schools Where Children Learn.

[6] A. S. Neill, Summerhill: A Radical Approach to Child Rearing (New York: Hart Publishing, 1960), p. 13.

[7] "Proposal to the Office of Education, Emergency School Assistance Program, Community Group," submitted September 22, 1971, p. 7.

[8] Ibid., p. 8.

[9] Ibid., p. 9.

[10] Featherstone, Schools Where Children Learn.

[11] Information based on interviews. Also see "New Hope for an Old School," Schools in Transition (Baton Rouge, La.: Information Center on School Desegregation, Public Affairs Research Council, July, 1971), I, p.8-11.

[12] "Proposal to the Office of Education," p. 9.

[13] Featherstone, Schools Where Children Learn.

[14] Ibid., p. 39.

[15] Free and Freedom Schools: A National Survey of Alternative Programs (Washington, D.C.: The President's Commission on School Finance, 1971), p.58-72.

[16] Featherstone, Schools Where Children Learn, p. 13.

[17] (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1969).

[18] "Proposal to the U. S. Office of Education," pp. 11-12.

[19] New Orleans Nola Express, May 21, 1971.

[20] From data gathered all across the nation on free schools, however, we have noted the tenacity of these programs. Few have closed! The much-quoted statistic that free schools on the average last only 18 months is false. Less than twenty schools, out of about 350, have been reported closed. Undoubtedly, some of these may have fissioned into two new schools; or perhaps after the original program folded, some of the people involved started forming a new one along different lines. And statistically, the average of 18 months is misleading--since most of the existing schools are not yet two years old. The national data indicate that 43% of all free schools opened in 1970 (157 schools).

[21] Henry Resnick, "Parkway"; The Metro School.

[22] Quoted by Joan Kent, New Orleans States - Item, May 25, 1971.

[23] Evaluation: Gateway High School, "School Without Walls--1970-71 (Mimeo: Board of Education, Orleans Parish, New Orleans, La., 1971), pp. 3-5.

[24] Ibid., p. 5.

[25] Ibid.

[26] "Proposal to the State Department of Education," August 30, 1970.

[27] Evaluation, p. 14.

[28] Ibid., pp. 32-34.

[29] New Orleans Times-Picayune, Nov. 3, 1971.

6. THE ISIDORE NEWMAN SCHOOL

by T. L. Patrick
Tulane University

A new private school opened in New Orleans in October 1904, the Isidore Newman Manual Training School. It was named for its founder, Isidore Newman, a noted financier and philanthropist of the city. Its curriculum set a precedent for New Orleans schools, offering both manual training and prevocational courses, as well as general education. The school was to provide facilities for children in the nearby Jewish Children's Home and for other pupils in the city.

The original brick building, housing the one hundred and twenty-five students and their eleven teachers in 1904, has now been renovated and houses the administrative offices, classrooms, and recreation rooms. A second brick building was erected in 1907 and today houses the Lower School administrative offices, library, cafeteria, and art studio. A concrete building, erected in 1920, contains classrooms for the Middle and Upper Schools, the Middle School administrative office, and arts and crafts studios. The basement houses the student lockers, Health Center, and Book Store. A brick gym also was constructed for the whole school in 1920 and today serves as the girls' gymnasium. A Band Room is in the basement. A lower elementary building of steel and brick was constructed in 1947, which has been used as a model for several elementary schools in the state. A new wing was added in 1965. A new gym of steel and brick was built in 1951 and is used by the boys. In 1962 a classroom building and an auditorium were added to the campus. A new Science center was completed in 1968.

The school was located in the 1800 block of Jefferson Avenue, just off St. Charles Avenue, at the time one of the most desirable residential areas of "uptown" New Orleans. The area as a whole was not then "exclusive" and is less so now. It was and is a mixture of rich and poor, black and white, Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile. It is an area of many schools, some forty public and non-public elementary and twenty-five secondary schools, three private institutions of higher education, numerous churches and small businesses. One of the city's two large public parks, Audubon, is near the school. Changes in the city have affected the area. Commercial establishments have crept up St. Charles Avenue; apartment complexes have replaced out-dated colonial mansions; some property has deteriorated in the area; and there has been some exodus of whites to the suburbs with an increasing percentage of Negroes.

The character of the congregation of some of the churches in the area has changed and the churches had to adjust their programs and finances to their changed populations or die. Some of the non-public schools in the area, each for its own reason, have ceased operation or moved to suburbia. Partially because young parents with school-age children moved to the suburbs, leaving grandparents in the area, decreasing enrollments affected one or more public schools.

Real estate tends to be high in the city of New Orleans, since the city has little room for expansion, bounded on the north by Lake Pontchartrain and almost encircled by the Mississippi. Its only expansion area is to the east, largely marsh land and water. In light of the trends and the cost of real estate, the colleges in the area considered the question of whether to continue to develop their present sites or move to less expensive terrain. All decided to stay. In the early 1960's the Newman Board of Governors reached the same decision. A survey in 1962 revealed at that time that ninety per cent of the parents lived within two and one-half miles of the school. Since then, there has been some growth in the number attending from greater distances, but the majority still live near the school, some seeking housing in the uptown area for this purpose.

Since this decision the Board has made additional purchases of property, the school now holding two complete, contiguous city blocks of property on Jefferson Avenue. Old buildings have been renovated and new ones added; old and new are airconditioned. The site contains more than six acres. The eight buildings now provide for forty-five classrooms, six science labs, two language labs, two libraries (elementary and secondary), two gyms, two auditoriums, and faculty and staff offices. There is presently a shortage of classrooms for the Middle School, but plans for a new Lower School building, for which a funding campaign has already begun, will add the needed classrooms and increase the playground and athletic areas.

Gradually the need from which Newman arose changed. Public funds began offering pre-vocational and vocational training, although even now in inadequate amounts. Newman began to emphasize more its general education program and to improve the selectivity of its student body and the quality of its program. In 1946 the Jewish Children's Home closed its doors and the continuing need was met with foster homes through the Jewish Children's Home Service. That year Newman was separated from the Jewish Children's Home and incorporated as an independent school, managed as a non-profit corporation.

Newman has been accredited by the Louisiana State Department of Education since 1913 and is a member of the National Association of Independent Schools, Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, Southern Association of Independent Schools, Independent Schools Association of the Southwest, Educational Records Bureau, National Registration Office and School Scholarship Service.

Its published purpose and philosophy reads:

> Isidore Newman is a school for academically able college-bound boys and girls. Its primary purpose is to provide an education that will serve as a preparation for college and a stimulus to the pursuit of knowledge and understanding throughout life. To this end it endeavors to transmit to its students the values of our culture, both past and present, a background of knowledge in the arts and sciences, and a love of learning that embraces a spirit of tolerance and understanding toward one's fellow man.
>
> The school seeks to do this in a friendly atmosphere in which both teacher and student share the excitement of new discoveries and achievements, and in which each student is encouraged and challenged to develop to his greatest potential his individual talents.
>
> Newman's goals may be further defined as:
>
> Intellectual--the development of logical thinking, intellectual curiosity and openmindedness;
>
> Civic and Ethical--the development of respect for social, political and cultural traditions, for law and order; and

> Creative--the development of the ability to see new solutions to old problems, and to make new discoveries.
>
> In the furtherance of its purpose, Newman seeks to maintain high standards of scholarship and admission. It follows a non-preferential policy of admitting qualified students without regard to race or creed, and it seeks to find the means to offer scholarship aid to needy students of superior ability.[1]

One of the advantages claimed for the maintenance of a dual system of schools (public and non-public) has been that they complement each other; each has offerings peculiar to its organization and support; and out of their competition comes improvement for both. Newman offers some evidence to support this thesis. As has been noted, it led the way in meeting the need for vocational training in the schools of New Orleans. In addition Newman in 1913 was the first secondary school in Louisiana accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. Warren Easton was the first public high school in New Orleans accredited in 1917. Today Louisiana is one of the leading southern states in the percentage of its secondary schools accredited by the appropriate regional accrediting agency. Newman was coeducational from the beginning and was the first school in New Orleans to extend coeducation to all grades. The first public Negro high school, McDonogh No. 35, established in 1917, was coeducational, as were other Negro high schools that followed. The first public high school for white pupils to become coeducational was Martin Behrman in 1938, but the entire secondary system did not become coed until 1952. Newman also was the first school with a twelve-grade system, with its first graduation class in 1909; the New Orleans public schools went to a twelve-grade system on the K-6-3-3 plan in 1952. Over forty years ago Newman was selected by the College Entrance Examination Board as its center for southern Louisiana. the school was the first local one with a professional coach for varsity sports; the first to maintain an approved health service with a full-time registered nurse. Newman was the first local school to adopt a nationally standardized psychological and achievement testing program. In 1967 it became the first local independent school to accept students of all races. The integrated Newman students' participation in Mardi Gras parades resulted in the revocation of a city ordinance concerning segregation on Mardi Gras floats. In 1971 two Newman students were given awards of merit by the Governor of the state for work with the Committee on Drug Education, a community program by high school students for elementary and middle school students.

Its Administration

The vertical organization of the Newman school is unitary. At the top is the Board of Governors, currently twenty-nine active members. The Board is non-sectarian and self-perpetuating. Members can serve up to three five-year terms; the terms are staggered. Members must have a child attending Newman. At present one Negro is on the Board. Based on the growth and progress of Newman, its Board of Governors has worked effectively through its seventeen standing committees and as a committee of the whole.

The Headmaster serves as executive officer of the Board and as a liason between faculty and Board, a position comparable to that of Superintendent in most public school systems. There has been a history of harmonious relations between the Board and its Headmasters. The first head, Dr. Clarence C. Henson, served from 1908 until his retirement in 1947. He was succeeded by Mr. Eddy S. Kalin who served until his retirement in 1964. Both had served on the faculty of the school previous to their promotions as director. Mr. William P. Cunningham, with previous administrative experience in private schools in California and Texas, has this Fall begun his eighth year as head of the school.

Six administrative officers work directly under the Headmaster. Three of these are the Principals of the organizational divisions of the school--the Lower School, K-5, with three hundred and sixty-one pupils; the Middle School, 6-8, with two hundred and fifteen pupils; and the Upper School, 9-12, with two hundred and ninety pupils. The other three administrative officers are: the Business Manager, the Director of Admissions, and the Public Relations Director and Alumni Secretary. The Headmaster works with his faculty through the three Principals and in the Upper and Middle Schools through an Academic Council made up of the Department Chairmen.

Newman in most instances, even in the days of teacher shortages, could select its faculty. Faculty members are chosen and retained for their ability to work with the Newman students and for their own scholastic interests and academic records. The general impression is that the teachers are happy, enthusiastic, and enjoy their work, which is unfortunately not true now in some of the disrupted, unsettled public schools. At present Newman has seventy teachers, fourteen of whom hold Masters' degrees and one, the doctorate. They are products of various institutions from several sections of the United States, with a few from other countries. At present twenty of the seventy do not meet the detailed teacher certification requirements of the state of Louisiana. For a school to achieve and retain state accreditation its teachers must be licensed to teach in the state; thus this is at times an area of tension between Newman and the State Department of Education. For now, the non-certified teachers pursue courses leading to certification in universities of their choice; Newman pays half their tuition; and they teach with temporary certification from the state.

The range of salaries for Newman teachers is $6,600.00 to $11,500.00; the average salary is $8,500.00. These are competitive with the salaries of teachers in the public schools. In addition the fringe benefits are comparable to those of the public schools. Previously mentioned is the payment of half-tuition for graduate study. A like provision is available to some but not all public school teachers of the area. The Newman teachers have had unlimited sick leave, but there is currently some discussion about removing the "un." Public school teachers generally have a limited plan of ten days per year cumulative. Newman teachers have access to a group health insurance plan, to Social Security (the public school teachers do not have Social Security) and to a pension plan which, with Social Security, gives the full-service teacher on retirement, compulsory at age sixty-five, one-half of her average pay for the last five years of teaching. The public school pension plan provides higher retirement pay. In addition Newman faculty are entitled to tuition remission for their children who attend the school. They do not have permanent tenure as the public school teachers of the state do, nor do they have the automatic ten to fifteen years of annual salary increments.

Attrition of the faculty has run from eleven to twenty-six per cent in the last five years compared with a national average of approximately ten per cent. A partial explanation for this is that Newman frequently employs wives of graduate and professional students whose husbands often leave the city on completion of their training, so the "Moved" category of reasons for resigning is high at times.

The most obvious administrative differences between Newman and the typical public school are: (1) the Board of Governors is not accountable to the "people" as are the public school boards, (2) the pupil to teacher ratios are lower, and (3) there is a higher percentage of administrative personnel.

Its Students

The total number of students, between eight and nine hundred, has remained relatively constant over the past decade.[2] In the present student body four hundred and ninety-three are boys and three hundred and eighty-three, girls. This imbalance of the sexes is partially explained by the old American idea that it is the male who should support the family and thus a quality education for the boy is more important than for the girl. Another influence is a nearby girls' school which draws from some of the same families, and thus some families have a girl at Louise S. McGehee's School and a boy at Isidore Newman.

As a rule about half the members of the graduating class have spent all their school years at Newman. Some new students are added occasionally at all grade levels. Other than at the kindergarten and first grade, the greatest number of additions occur at the seventh and ninth grades. The New Orleans Public School system in 1960 began Benjamin Franklin, a public college preparatory school, in uptown New Orleans. This resulted in a few pupils entering Benjamin Franklin instead of the Newman Upper School, but this was largely matched by students remaining at Newman for the last four years who formerly had left at the end of the eighth grade and gone to out-of-state boarding schools.

The Newman students are a select group. As a college preparatory school, Newman seeks verbal students who can comfortably handle a demanding academic curriculum. An applicant for the kindergarten and his parents are interviewed, and the child is given an individual intelligence test by a practicing psychologist. Though Newman sets no specific cut-off point for a score on this test, or other tests used, an intelligence quotient of one hundred and fifteen minimum is considered desirable; but acceptance or rejection is based on the total picture. Admission later in the school program follows the same pattern of interviews, standardized tests, both psychological and achievement, and the applicant's previous school record. Newman expects applicants' scores on achievement tests to be average or above on the test scale of the National Association of Independent Schools. This, in general, places an applicant two or more grade levels above the average of unselected student scores.

Residence, family background, interests, tuition costs and the like make for a socioeconomic selection to accompany the above scholastic selection. There has been no sociological analysis of the parents, but it is estimated that in ninety per cent of the instances students come from homes where both parents are college graduates, and in seventy-five to eighty per cent of the cases the father follows a profession. The student applicant states no religious affiliation, but it is estimated that perhaps the student group is thirty-five per cent Jewish and sixty-five per cent Christian. Varying national groups are represented occasionally--Orientals, Negro, Spanish. Geographically most of the students live within two or three miles of the school. The school provides no transportation, as many private schools of the city do; but parents in the Lake Front area (perhaps ten to twelve miles from the school) operate a bus to provide transportation for their children, who represent perhaps ten to fifteen per cent of the total student body. A bus also transports a smaller West Bank contingent (across the river), perhaps representing five to ten per cent of the total.

The elite character of the school is a recognized concern. In an interview published in the school newspaper, the Headmaster expressed a desire for a more diversified student body and advocated additional scholarship funds. A student editorialized about the sheltered environment, and students make efforts to remedy the situation. They participate in city-wide student activities. A Newman student is this year President of the Greater New Orleans Association of Student Councils which is planning to implement a school drug education program, and is working to set up required safety seminars for young traffic offenders. Other students operate a tutoring service largely for students in nearby disadvantaged elementary schools. There is also a Student Exchange Program where groups of Newman students go to school for a day in disadvantaged high schools.

Though most of the students come from upper middle and upper class homes, there are exceptions. Some few families, too poor to send all children to Newman, pick the scholastically brightest son to represent the family, and provide one child an education offering him the chance for upward social, and perhaps economic, mobility. This is reminiscent of the use by some English parents of the "Preparatory School-Public School-Oxford-Cambridge" route to provide upward social mobility for their children.

In addition a varying number of scholarships are provided by the school for able students in need of financial assistance, for occasional Jewish children through the Jewish Children's Home Service; and recently special scholarships have been provided for disadvantaged students, both black and white.

There are few discipline problems in the Upper and Middle Schools. Academic failure is rare; and summer schools, special study halls, tutoring and individual attention help the lagging scholar, so the discipline problems connected with failure are few. Occasional emotionally disturbed students are handled with parental cooperation and outside consultants. The drug situation has not reached a problem stage. A survey last year conducted by the Newman students under the direction of the Psychology Department of Loyola University to determine basic drug usage trends revealed eighty-eight per cent of the Newman students had never used any form of drugs. The largest number of users were Seniors, and drugs most frequently used were Tranquilizers, Marijuana, and Amphetamines. Less than five per cent of the students were involved in anything like a drug culture. As noted earlier, Newman student leaders have been active in drug education programs.

Though Newman students are above average in many respects, in other ways they are typical American adolescents and are concerned about many of the same things that their public school counterparts are. A Student Life Evaluation conducted by the students last year identified four problem areas: (1) the passivity of the students, (2) a lack of pride in the school, (3) too little teacher participation, and (4) the confining experience of attending Newman. The Greenie editor added a fifth--the lack of organized student power, characterizing the present Student Council as powerless. He believed students needed to feel they were an integral part of the school and not just attenders. Out of the study came recommendations for coed homerooms, which has been accomplished; new courses in the curriculum, some of which have been added; student membership on the curriculum committee which has been granted. Discussion continues on the role, responsibility, and organization of the Student Council. School rules, particularly the dress code, were criticized, and this year the dress and behavior code has been largely reduced to dress and behavior becoming to a Newman student. At times the students apparently weary of living up to the Newman image. One student wrote that the faculty should be less concerned about the prize won by the school's literary magazine, Pioneer, and more concerned about its lack of appeal to the students. Another student commented about the increasing cost of education. He thought that state funds should bear part of the burden of tuition and federal funds should help with capital outlay. His two basic arguments were that parents of private school pupils paid school taxes and that private schools performed a public service. He did not raise the question as to whether an independent school could become financially dependent on public funds and remain educationally independent.

Other articles in the Greenie over student bylines indicated a wide range of interests in local and national issues: the Ecology Center, Jesus Christ-Super Star, Vice-President Agnew, a Newman teacher's polution court case, the New Orleans Domed Stadium, Kent State, school bussing, R. O. T. C., the eighteen year old vote--some presented from the "liberal" and some from the "conservative" points of view.

Its Program

The horizontal organization in the Lower School is the traditional self-contained classroom with grade promotions. The Middle School also has grade promotion. Grade Six is not departmentalized as are Grades Seven and Eight, partially for pedagogical reasons and partially for reasons of space. Pedagogically, the sixth grade is used to move the student gradually from a self-contained classroom with one dominant teacher to the departmentalized situation of several teachers by using primarily two teachers with the sixth grade. Presently classrooms are not available for departmentalizing the sixth grade; when space is available, changes are planned for the sixth grade program. The Upper School pursues a solid, subject centered and organized curriculum. As a college preparatory school, college courses and entrance requirements dominate the curriculum of the whole school. Science, History (not social studies), Language (foreign and domestic), and, with more emphasis than in some college preparatory schools, Fine Arts are central to the instructional program at all levels. In an ascending scale the Lower School prepares pupils for the Middle School; the Middle School, for the Upper School; and the Upper School, for the college.

There is a concern for grade and subject promotion standards at all levels. Standardized tests are used, but most emphasis is placed on the evaluation of the faculty. The school maintains low pupil-teacher ratios: fifteen to one in kindergarten, twenty to one in the first and second grades, thirty to one in grades three through five (plans are to lower this when additional classrooms are available), and the cut-off on class size in the Upper and Middle Schools is twenty, so the student-teacher ratio is twenty to one or less. These ratios allow teachers to know each student, to give him individual attention, and to keep up with his progress or lack of progress. Few of these selected students have scholastic difficulties. A new program in the Lower School, giving all first grade students a visual perception test with perceptual retraining for those who need it, hopefully will eliminate some few whose learning problems are related to vision. For the emotionally disturbed, when teacher and principal cannot help, conferences with parents generally result in the use of professional consultants.

In the Lower School, in addition to the regular classroom teacher, several special teachers work directly with pupils, giving the regular teacher "free" school time. There are special teachers in Music, Art, Physical Education, and French or Spanish. All students in Grades Three through Five take one of the two languages. Also the two kindergarten teachers, who have their pupils only half a day, conduct a special science program for Grades One and Two.

A full-time Media Director and three full-time Librarians assist the teachers at all levels with materials and supplies. They have helped teachers in Grades Two and Five to set up learning centers in Reading and Mathematics. Other elementary teachers are now interested, and the new elementary school being planned will take these views into consideration. The Media Director practices the policy of decentralizing equipment and centralizing materials and supplies. She is presently cataloging school-owned films, film strips, slides, tapes, and recordings under the Library of Congress filing system. In addition to school-owned supplies, the school makes use of the regional media libraries of the state of Louisiana, plus other free and rental sources. Teachers have available to them 16mm projectors, film strip and slide projectors, opaque and overhead projectors. To date classroom use has not been made of educational television or of closed circuit television. One type of teaching machine is in use in the kindergarten.

The elementary and secondary school libraries house over twenty-eight thousand volumes and subscribe to one hundred and forty-five magazines for students and thirty-six professional magazines for teachers. The high school library is equipped with individual study carels. Library and media library are adjacent and thus provide something of a learning center for secondary students.

This year a new course in Grades Two through Five, dealing with "Concepts and Values," is being tried. It will be oriented around selected children's stories in which the decisions and actions of children in the stories can be analyzed by the elementary students.

There is some concern about the pressure of grades and standards on children in the Lower School. This year the "grading system" is the topic for study of the elementary teachers' inservice training program. For the first time a parents' committee of Newman is working with teachers on a topic that involves policy, and a committee of students is also studying the problem. There is a desire to allow a little more freedom and spontaneity and to reduce scholastic pressures if this can be done and still have pupils prepared for the Middle School program.

In the Middle and Upper Schools there is a seven-period day; each period is fifty minutes. Faculty normally teach five periods, except in sciences with labs where the load is four. The most important subjects in the Middle School in determining grade promotion are English and Mathematics. Teachers' grades, previous school records and standardized test scores are used in determining a child's grade, but the goal is to have each child treated and evaluated as an individual. Special help in remedial reading is available for those who need it, and students use the school's summer session to catch up on any subject in which their grades are lagging. The low pupil-teacher ratio permits individual attention, as needed.

The physical education of the Middle School stresses development of the body, and physical health and well-being as an essential part in developing in the early adolescent a satisfactory self-concept. Last year, using the special strengths of one of the faculty, a new course in Oriental Mythology was introduced to supplement the Greek Mythology, already a part of the curriculum.

Both principals in the Upper and Middle Schools have special training and interest in guidance and presently serve as directors of guidance for their schools. Next year a full-time Director of Guidance is to be employed. In the Middle School some group guidance is done through teachers in regular academic subjects. Guidance pamphlets dealing with problems of the early adolescent supplement the regular curriculum.

In the Upper School there is a strong program in English. The first semester of the ninth grade concentrates on improving the quality of the students' writing. In the Senior year, when specified English courses have been taken, many choices are offered: Debate, Short Story, Drama, Journalism, Movie Making, etc.

Recent new courses at this level have been in English--Classics of Literature, and George Bernard Shaw; in Science--Marine Biology; in Social Studies--Urban Studies and Psychology; in Mathematics--a basic Computer Course. These innovations highlight another area of conflict with the State Department of Education. As with teacher certification, graduation requirements are centralized, numerous and specific. Some two-thirds of the eighteen units required for graduation are specified, and even the elective list is short. Any school wanting to offer a course not on the list has to seek a special dispensation, if graduation credit is to be received. Impossible in practice, but legally the individual transcript of every student in every high school of Louisiana must be transmitted to the state capital for the individual approval of the State Superintendent of Education before the student can be granted his high school diploma. These requirements affect, of course, both public and non-public schools, and may be one of the contributing factors in the lack of comprehensiveness of the curricula in most of the secondary schools of the state.

For this college preparatory group, educational guidance into a suitable college is stressed. Since the lowest ranking students seldom fall below the median on various college board tests, and since the upper rankings do well in advanced placement tests, almost one hundred per cent of the graduates enter college each year. There has been no follow-up study by the local school of the graduates, but it is believed most of the graduates entering college complete the course and many go on to graduate and professional schools. The National Registration Office Report for the last three years shows three hundred and thirty-one students graduating from Newman, three hundred and thirty entering college, and satisfactory progress reports from three hundred and seven. That reports were not received from the missing twenty-three does not mean necessarily that they were not in college and doing well.

Selective schools, such as Newman, must make claims about results with caution since it is difficult to determine how much credit to give the student selection procedures and how much to give the school instructional procedures; but the evidence does indicate that Newman is accomplishing its aim of preparing its students to succeed in college.

There are organized physical education activities for all students. The program establishes the following aims in their rank order: (1) physical fitness, (2) development of basic skills in certain sports, (3) improvement of body mechanics, (4) participation in group activity, and (5) recreation. The school participates in a variety of scholastic sports: for the boys who generally rank well in their league--football, basketball, track, soccer, swimming, tennis golf; for the girls--volleyball, softball, tennis, swimming, basketball, ping pong, bowling, riding, field hockey, gymnastics.

A wide variety of extracurricular activities are sponsored to foster the growth and rounded development of all students. The program includes a strong emphasis on various activities in the area of Fine Arts throughout the school. Group instructional music begins with Tonettes in Grade Three and includes two concert bands. There are publications and student government at each school level, as well as numerous service and special interest clubs. Since one of the recommendations of the Student Life Evaluation was for a forced system of participation in extracurricular activities, apparently some of the student apathy noted extended to this area. This recommendation for required participation has not been put into practice. For a short time an eight-period day, with one period for extracurricular activities, was tried; but the day proved to be too long, so the extracurricular activities returned to a largely after-school function which prevents much active participation by the bussed students.

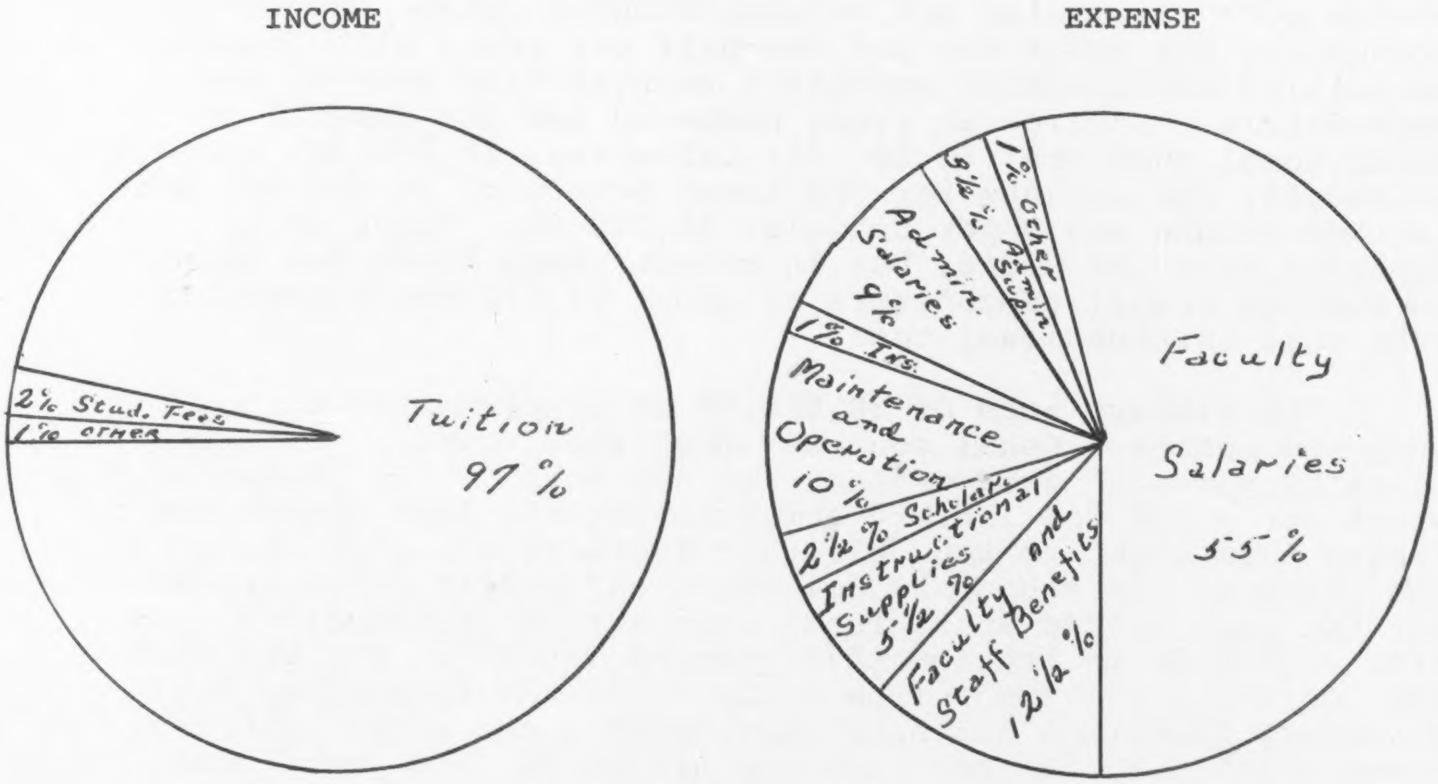
Its Finances

The budget is largely the province of the Board of Governors. The Headmaster, as executive secretary of the Board, the Business Manager, and the Treasurer of the Board prepare the basic budget for the Finance Committee of the Board, guided largely by anticipated revenues and past expenditures. The form of the budget is now that recommended by the National Association of Independent Schools and has some breakdown of revenues and expenditures for Lower, Middle and Upper Schools; but the principals and teachers are little involved either in the preparation or execution of the budget--their primary concern is instruction.

The principal source of income of the one and one quarter million dollar budget is tuition, providing for ninety-seven per cent of the income. A variety of student fees--activity, application, registration, athletic, test, lab--provide another two per cent, so that income via students represents ninety-nine per cent of the operating budget. Small amounts of interest and rent make up the other one per cent. This one per cent largely comes from purchased property not yet converted to school use; when converted, this source will largely disappear.

Profits from the Book Store of $6,000.00, from the operation of the summer school of $7,500.00, and an estimate of $35,000.00 from annual giving are listed as sources of income in the budget, but are not part of the total for school operation, being reserved for projects. The Annual Fund, the result of some thirty-eight hundred letters to alumni, parents, and friends of the school, brings in annual amounts ranging from $20,000.00 to $40,000.00. The total is affected by any special fund campaigns. Generous contributions have been made in special fund drives in the last decade; some surcease in special campaigns could result in higher and more consistent annual giving. Another item of income not budgeted for operations in the 1971-72 budget is the school's endowment fund of $242,807.00, which last year earned an income of some $14,000.00. The endowment has been reduced from

OPERATIONS BUDGET 1971-72



a high in 1967 of $385,669.00, largely by the purchase of real estate for expansion of the campus. Even though the endowment may in time be increased, it cannot reasonably be expected to contribute a very large percentage of the total operating budget. Presently the endowment income is used each year for operating expenses, capital outlay, or reinvestment as the situation requires.

As is evident, the operation of the school depends largely on tuition and fees, and apparently must continue to do so. Tuition costs have risen steadily in the last decade or so. Tuition ranged from $360.00 in kindergarten to $650.00 in the last two years of the Upper School in 1961, increased to a range of $480.00 to $820.00 in 1962, from $550.00 to $1,000.00 in 1965, from $650.00 to $1,200.00 in 1968, from $850.00 to $1,400.00 in 1970, and this year from $900.00 to $1,550.00.[3]

The principal item of expenditure, as in any school budget, is for teaching. In the current budget teachers' salaries account for fity-five per cent of the total. Fringe benefits for faculty and staff represent another twelve and one-half per cent, and instructional equipment and supplies five and one-half. This five and one-half includes both curricular and extracurricular items, the latter accounting for about two and one-half per cent, with student activities and athletic purchases representing most of the expenditure. Curricular items budgeted are for general instructional supplies, $8,000.00; libraries, $8,000.00; science, $5,000.00; and amounts for the Lower School of $6,000.00, and for the Middle and Upper Schools, $8,000.00. There is no separate item for media, but in recent years there has been an average annual expenditure of about $3,000.00, presumably from this instructional total.

The library item of $8,000.00 is supplemented by non-budgeted monies. Local sources--book week, gifts, contributions by parents' groups--increase the total. The amount spent per pupil for library services for the last decade has ranged from eight to ten dollars. Furthermore, this is the one place in the school budget where any public funds appear. For the past decade state funds have varied in annual amounts from $1,000.00 to the low this year of $500.00. For the past two years federal funds from Title II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act have supplemented the school library funds--with $681.56 last year and $1,358.68 this year. Compared to the total budget, public funds are thus to date insignificant in the operation of the school. The only other public support is the tax exemption, now a topic of public debate, but a practice that dates back to the Roman Emperor Constantine. The only government action in this area until October of this year had been the completion of a form about school admission policy required by the Internal Revenue Service. This executive ruling, presumably aimed at so-called "segregation academies" that will lose their tax exemption status if racial admission practices are followed, is now being applied to all non-public schools, the power of the tax dollar having been previously applied to public schools. On October 20, 1971 an emissary of the Internal Revenue Service made a personal investigation of the Newman School to determine first hand whether racial practices and stated policies were in agreement and non-discriminating racially.

If all budgeted items related to instructional services are totaled, the amount represents seventy-one or seventy-two per cent of the budget.

The second largest item in the budget is for administration, administrative equipment and supplies amounting to three and one-half per cent of the budget and administrative-staff salaries to nine per cent, for a total of twelve and one-half per cent.

Operation and maintenance of the plant accounts for ten per cent. This presumably includes salaries and materials for physical maintenance and custodial services. A fixed charge for insurance amounts to one per cent of the budget.

The current practice of the Board is to budget approximately three per cent of the gross budget for scholarships. This year, excluding tuition waivers for faculty children which are included in faculty benefits, the amount budgeted is two and one-half per cent of the operating budget. If the amount for faculty-staff tuition waivers were included in the budgeted amount for scholarships, the percentage would be five and one-half. For this school year there are thirty-five students on scholarships of varying amounts, plus thirty-four faculty and staff children with full tuition waivers and four children of part-time faculty members with half-tuition remissions. The Board annually determines the total amount available for scholarships, an amount which has risen from $9,060.00 in 1965 to $32,000.00 for this year. An additional $40,000.00 is budgeted for tuition waivers for faculty and staff children. Even though the total amount for scholarships has risen, the number of scholarships decreased from thirty-three in 1962 to twenty-one in 1968.[4] Since then both the amount budgeted and the total number of scholarships has increased to this year's high. Excluding children receiving faculty tuition waivers, about four per cent of the students this year have scholarships. If Newman wishes to provide education for more economically deprived but intellectually able students, some feasible way of increasing the scholarship budget would seem necessary.

Once the amount of money available for the year for scholarships is determined by the Board, the actual granting of these scholarships is planned by a Scholarship Committee. Families seeking scholarships supply the information required by the School Scholarship Service of Princeton, New Jersey. The Scholarship Committee uses the recommendations of this Service in determining the recipients and the amount of scholarship funds to each. Officially no one in the school, other than the Scholarship Committee and the recipient, knows the identity of the students with scholarships.

For the capital outlay budget, the Board in general operates on a cash basis. There are times when the Board has used endowment principal for the purchase of property and has borrowed against school capital assets. Currently the school is debt free. There is in the budget, but not included in the operational total, an item of $70,000.00 for debt retirement. This amount is owed a local bank and is being paid off gradually with pre-pledged donations. A second item of $20,000.00 for plant improvement and real estate acquisition is in the budget but is not included in the operational total.

Since the decision in 1962 to remain on and develop the present site, the Board has expended $1,800,000.00 in capital outlay funds,[5] yet today there is no indebtedness not already covered by pledges. These major expenditures have been for a new high school building with classrooms, language labs, and auditorium; a new science center; the renovation of three buildings; and the purchase of real estate. In this continuing expansion program, at least two other buildings are planned, a new building for the Lower School at an estimated cost of $500,000.00 and a Student Center at an estimated cost of $400,000.00. A special campaign for funds formally begins this year, with hoped for completion of the Lower School building in three years. Even before the formal campaign has begun, it is off to a successful start with one donation of $200,000.00 provided the Board matches the amount. Based on the previous record, the amount will be more than matched.

Summary

This study of Isidore Newman School indicates that the school at present has relatively few difficulties serious enough to be called problems. The student body is "elitish"; whether this is an asset or a liability may depend on one's point of view. For now it may well be a financial asset and an educational liability. The only way to secure a more representative sampling would appear to be to increase the amount for scholarships.

In the relations of the school with state education officials, there are at least two potential problem areas. The administration of Newman has tried to select teachers with the personality, training, and background best suited to the school without being limited by state certification requirements. Whether the state can or will limit this freedom of teacher selection by withdrawing state accreditation, or other means, is unknown. Nor is it known what effect the loss of state accreditation might have should Newman retain accreditation with regional and independent school agencies. There is a further possibility that, if more and more certified teachers are unemployed, the teachers' union might become interested.

A second area of conflict with state officials is curriculum, control at present being primarily exercised through specific and limited graduation requirements. If these requirements are strictly enforced, it becomes difficult to make significant changes in the school's curricular program. In the public schools there is even considerable official censorship of books for use in schools which has so far not affected the programs in the non-public schools. In addition, curricular offerings are controlled to a considerable extent in this state by specific acts of the legislature, recent ones being the requiring of instruction about communism and omission of sex education. An extension of this policy could limit both public and non-public education.

State and federal direct financial influence to date has been limited to a few dollars for library services, so financial pressure has been insignificant. The potential, however, is there. What effect would increased amounts of state or federal funds through direct or indirect sources, through special services, through teacher salary supplements, through "voucher" plans have on the independence of non-public schools? Will public funds reduce the financial independence of non-public schools and will the increased financial dependence reduce the educational independence? This year the federal government through the Internal Revenue Service has required of non-public schools the completion of a form disclosing their admission requirements and procedures which must be racially non-discriminating or the schools face a loss of tax exemption status. To date apparently only a policy of open racial admission has been required; no quota or percentage of Black admissions or enrollments has yet been established. What the future holds in this area remains to be seen. If Newman were placed in a position which resulted in lost tax exemptions, this would be a blow to its operating budget. With a plant valued at close to three million dollars, property tax alone would add $30,000.00 to $40,000.00 to the operating budget.

A continuing concern is the mobility and change in the residential area around the school. If the student population that is interested in and can afford to attend Newman moves from the area for whatever reason, the school would have to follow the students, if that proved feasible. The effect of such change on the property values in the area could also affect the school's financial future.

Another area of concern is the effect of inflation. As of now, student fees and tuition support most of the operational program. The unanswered question, and perhaps for now unanswerable, is whether tuition can continue to pay for the education or whether increasing tuition costs will raise tuition to the level where an educational version of the economic law of diminishing returns begins to operate--to a point where not enough students can afford to pay the tuition necessary to keep the school operating as a quality institution. Since 1962 tuition maximums have increased almost two and one-half times. Today the parent wishing to educate his child at Newman faces a thirteen-year educational outlay of $17,600.00 for tuition alone. If the next decade follows the pattern of the past one, this figure will be doubled by 1982 for a total of more than $35,000.00. This would appear from the vantage point of the present to be a lot of cheap dollars, or an expensive education.

Despite these varying concerns, Newman is today free of debt, operating in the black, conducting successful capital outlay drives, and maintaining successful instructional programs. The adjective "independent" as applied to schools in the United States, has signified primarily financial freedom, free of the need for public or other funds not controlled by the governing body of the school. The Newman Board of Governors has to date successfully practised this policy, so Newman is entitled to the adjective "independent" and hopes to remain so. That it is a coeducational and day school seems to be in its favor. Several of the non-public schools in the nation facing financial crises in recent years have been unisex and boarding schools, which increases greatly total educational costs. Apparently, however, special conditions largely govern each situation. For instance, in New Orleans a famous private Catholic girls' school (Sacred Heart Academy), once a thriving boarding school with boarding students from Central and South America as well as the states, discontinued its boarding operations eight years ago and continues as a day school. It has been noted that more of Newman's students who once went to boarding schools on completion of their elementary education now remain at Newman. Yet, just across Lake Pontchartrain a private Catholic boarding school for boys (St. Paul's Academy) flourishes.

The financial future of Newman and similar non-public independent schools thus contains many unanswered questions or possibilities. Can Newman remain financially independent and thus relatively free educationally? Or, if financial independence is weakened or lost, can educational freedom still be maintained? Despite some unanswerable questions, at least for non-prophets, the members of the Newman administration face a changing future with confidence. They believe that for sixty-seven years Newman has survived and will continue to survive; that Newman can remain, as now, financially indpendent and educationally free; that there will continue to be a place in education in this country for the independent college preparatory school that is successful in achieving its goals and is making a positive contribution to education and to society. It would be unfortunate for education in the United States if their belief did not prove to be a reality.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Isidore Newman School Bulletin, 1970-72, p.1

[2] See Appendix of this chapter for statistical table.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

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TABLE 6/1

Statistical Data

Isidore Newman School

	Size Fac. ulty	Stu- dents	No. on Scho- lar- ships	Scholar- ship Expend- itures	Tuition Costs	Operations Income	Operations Expense	Total Endow- ment	Endow- ment Income	Annual- Special Fund Income	Capital Outlay
1961	59	854			360-650	525,500	529,952		13,393	215,095	
1962	60	844	33	18,102	480-820	662,900	667,055	285,237	19,003	207,774	
1963	61	841	39		480-820	660,500	660,300	238,330	14,141	117,836	650,000
1964	64	868	33	7,382	480-820	674,100	673,900	248,191	13,897	75,748	
1965	65	856	32	9,060	550-1000	804,000	831,420	278,655	14,971	52,270	95,000
1966	66	860	31	9,490	550-1000	808,000	836,593	316,626	15,168	66,911	27,000
1967	68	872	28	10,560	550-1000	820,000	850,000	385,669	16,790	377,196	26,000
1968	71	867	21	12,750	650-1200	915,040*	939,810*	243,891	44,613	498,139	550,000
1969	72	866	22	12,800	650-1200	977,050	996,250	257,914	14,427	124,328	250,000
1970	71	877	25	16,650	850-1400	1,095,550	1,108,850	242,807		21,704	200,000
1971	70	876	35	24,575	900-1550	1,215,450	1,215,250			43,000	62,000

* Numbers in this column are estimates previous to 1968.

Data based on Special Financial Report to National Association of Independent Schools, 1971, and the Budgets, 1968-72, of Isidore Newman School.

The information in this study was gained through interviews with the following personnel connected with the Isidore Newman School:

1. Mr. William Palmer Cunningham, Headmaster
2. Mrs. Margaret B. Russell, Lower School Principal
3. Mr. Frank J. Schick, Middle School Principal
4. Mrs. Sidney B. Schultz, Upper School Principal
5. Miss Marie H. Roussel, Director of Admissions
6. Mrs. John B. Thorpe, Director of Public Relations
7. Mr. Joel E. Emerman, Business Manager
8. Miss Erminia Wadsworth, Head Librarian
9. Mrs. Stanley T. Barone, Media Director
10. Mr. Sydney J. Besthoff, III, Treasurer, Board of Governors

And from duplicated materials:

1. Triennial Report of Isidore Newman School to the Independent Schools Association of the Southwest, 1971.
2. Special Financial Report to the National Association of Independent Schools, 1971.
3. Isidore Newman School Bulletin, 1970-72, and Bulletin Supplement, 1971-72.
4. Budget of Isidore Newman School, 1971-72.
5. The Greenie, February, October, November 1970 and January, May, June, October 1971.

7. AN INNOVATIVE CATHOLIC SCHOOL

by Mary Landers
McNeese State University

Lake Charles is a city of approximately 85 000 people located on beautiful Lake Charles and the Calcasieu River. In 1925, the city fathers voted to widen and deepen the channel of the river to accomodate sea-going vessels. As a result, the city has become one of the important deep sea ports along the Gulf of Mexico. In the last ten years, the channel of Calcasieu River has again been widened and deepened so that ships of any size may now come into the port. This channel connects the city with all of the ports of the nation and the world through the Intra-Coastal Canal and the Gulf of Mexico.

In addition to the shipping industry, the area produces much rice, cattle, lumber and oil products. Synthetic rubber and chemicals, such as chlorine, olefin, plastics, explosives and many others, are also manufactured here.

It is not only a very productive area but also has many recreational opportunities. The many lakes, rivers and the gulf provide fishing, water sports, and the hunting of duck and other wild fowl.

There is a parish public school system which is operated under the direction of a single board of education with a superintendent as its chief administrative officer. In addition, McNeese State University is located in Lake Charles. It has been instrumental in providing an abundance of certified teachers for the area.

Sacred Heart School and Church is located in the center of one of the middle to low income areas of the old city. It is one of two churches and two schools in the city established especially for Negroes. In October, 1908, a group of Catholic Negro men petitioned the pastor of the largest Catholic Church in town for help in getting a church school for their children. The petition finally reached the Sisters of the Holy Family in Lafayette, Louisiana, who recommended Miss Eleanor Figaro, one of their recent graduates, as the teacher.

This lady "with a dream" opened the school with 18 students in Green Hall on Enterprise Boulevard. In 1910, a tract of land just one block over from Enterprise Boulevard was purchased, and a little "Red Schoolhouse" was built. At this time Miss Mary Ryan was added to the faculty. Money was not very plentiful, so it was necessary to initiate many money raising schemes to keep the school in session. "We taught all week, cleaned extra well on Friday so we could have a Fair on Saturday. Again, we cleaned up for church on Sunday morning. (The school served as the church.) The school was cleaned again for Monday morning. "But we loved it," stated Miss Mary Ryan during a recent interview. Then she added, "We would cook 50 chickens on a wood stove in our kitchen. Sometimes if we ran out of wood we just chopped up the fence."[1] Miss Ryan at 79 still lives two blocks from the school and is an active supporter of the church and school.

In 1918 a storm destroyed the school, so back they went to Green Hall and to Miss Ryan's home until the building could be replaced. In 1920 the Sacred Heart Parish was established and another big step was taken when the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrement took over the school. A convent was built and four more class rooms were added.

In 1923 the first year of high school was added. The other two years were added during 1924-25. In 1927 teacher training was given in the eleventh grade. Evening classes were provided three nights a week for teachers. Xavier Center for Extension Courses from Xavier University in New Orleans, Louisiana, was established, but had to be discontinued in 1941 because the growth of the school was so great that no space for the center was available. Other buildings and a new church were built through the years. The school became a member of the Southern Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges. It grew in membership to about 400-450 students.

The sixties brought changes in schools, states, and in the nation. It also brought about the closing of Sacred Heart High School in 1967.

Sacred Heart is called a Parish. It is actually a mission with no clearly defined area. Members of the parish live in all areas of the city and may attend any Catholic Church, but they usually prefer to attend Sacred Heart or the Immaculate Heart of Mary. Both churches have schools operated by the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrement. Each school has about 275 students.

There are six Catholic schools in the area, five elementary schools and one high school.

The School Plant

Sacred Heart, a predominately black Catholic school, has 272 children, 269 black and three white. This is the first year to enroll any white children. Sister Michelle has been the principal for the past three years. This is her first assignment as an administrator.

The school plant consists of two buildings. One two-story building houses the K-5 grades, plus the reading laboratory. This building is fifty years old, yet the bright orange and yellow desks, which were painted by the students last summer for twenty-five cents each, impart a warm glow.

The second building, the junior high school, is located across Louisiana Street to the west of the elementary school. While the elementary campus is enclosed with heavy wire fences for safety purposes, the junior high school facilities enjoy an open campus. The rectory, a very large, rambling two-story white frame building surrounded by heavy wire fencing, serves as the north boundary of the junior high school campus.

The main building of the junior high complex is a red brick gymnasium with classrooms attached along side the main floor. Doors open from the basketball court into the classrooms as well as from each classroom to the outside campus. The outside doors open onto walks which encircle the building. The walks also connect the main building with the instruction media center (IMC), which is a white frame building. The IMC is accessible and convenient for student use. The covered walkway which connects the main exit from the gym to the media center gives protection from the frequent showers and rain which are common to Southwest Louisiana.

To the south of the main building and located across Division Street (this is not a busy thoroughfare) is the library, a red brick building whose interior is buff-colored brick tile. Further description will be given later concerning the appearance and usage of this building.

The four main classrooms are air-conditioned this year, a fact which the students are quick to praise because they had not experienced this "luxury" in the elementary school. They promptly explain that it is easier to learn in cool, comfortable conditions. In the fall and late spring the weather is often hot and muggy.

The junior high school consists of the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades with an enrollment of eighty-two students.

The Faculty

The school has five white nuns and five Negro lay teachers on the regular teaching staff. Besides these, they have a Reading Laboratory with a full time white teacher and a Negro aide. A retired nun teaches vocal music in grades five through eight. Eight of the teachers have Louisiana Teaching Certificates and two lay teachers have temporary certificates. Two of the teachers have Masters Degree, and seven have their B.A. Degree.

This is a class size distribution for the 1971-1972 school year:

Kindergarten full day	25
First	35
Second	38
Third	35
Fourth	26
Fifth	28
Sixth	32
Seventh	28
Eighth	22

When Sister Michelle came to Sacred Heart and started looking at the records, she realized something had to be done, because too many children were below their grade norm, especially in reading. She saw the placid, frozen faces on young children as she walked into the rooms. What she wanted to see were autonomous, curious, sensitive and alive children.

Her first step toward improving the situation in the elementary grades was in reading. The reading texts were old and as a result created no enthusiasm. Many parents of children now in school had used the same texts when they themselves were students at Sacred Heart.

The New Scott, Foresman Integrated Readers, 1965 edition, were bought for use. When the small children looked at the pictures in their readers, they would rub the picture of the black child. Sometimes they would even rub their own face to the black picture. One little boy replied, "There I am!" Sister Michelle says, "This did a great deal for the child's self-concept. He had a book he could identify with immediately."[2]

The Stanford Achievement Test was administered. On the basis of the results, teachers attempted to provide reading material on the level where the children could read. Sister Michelle took children daily from their room when a severe lag was apparent, and gave help on specific skills. The Stanford Achievement Tests have been administered in March of 1969, 1970, and 1971. The results are presented in Tables 7/1 and 7/2.

The results seem to indicate that the innovation of the "Workshop Way" has not been without value for the children who have been exposed to it. Thus, in the fall of 1969 only 7% of the first grade children scored above grade level and 87% scored below grade level in reading achievement scores. Retested in March, 1970, these same students, now in second grade, scored above grade level in 23% of the cases and below grade level in 56% of the cases. The results of testing in March, 1971 indicate that 40% of these students (now in third grade) scored above grade level and 50% scored below grade level.*

The Workshop Way: An Educational Innovation

Sister Michelle, the principal of Sacred Heart School, knew Sister Grace Pilon and her results working with disadvantaged children using the "Workshop Way" in the Danneel School in New Orleans, Louisiana. She was very anxious to start this program at Sacred Heart.

Sister Helen, a teacher at Sacred Heart, also knew Sister Grace and her work. She was, at the time, teaching the fourth grade, and attempting to use the "Workshop Way" in her class with mathematics. She had completed her undergraduate degree at the House of Studies at Xavier University in New Orleans.

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*Ed. note: Obviously the trend is at least partially attributable to regression effects.

TABLE 7/1

DISTRIBUTION OF STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST SCORES - READING IN SACRED HEART SCHOOL BY GRADES, 1969-1971

	MARCH 1969			MARCH 1970			MARCH 1971		
GRADE	% ABOVE	% ON	% BELOW	% ABOVE	% ON	% BELOW	% ABOVE	% ON	% BELOW
1	7	5	87	13	45	42	57	27	14
2	0	7	93	23	21	56	31	6	63
3	9	3	88	17	6	77	40	10	50
4	8	0	92	36	0	64	70	0	30
5	14	0	86	16	0	84	12	3	85
6	17	3	80	41	0	59	24	3	73
7	9	0	91	18	8	74	55	0	45
8	24	0	76	36	5	59	20	0	80

TABLE 7/2

DISTRIBUTION OF STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST SCORES - MATH

SACRED HEART SCHOOL BY GRADES, 1969-1970

	MARCH 1969			MARCH 1970			MARCH 1971		
GRADE	% ABOVE	% ON	% BELOW	% ABOVE	% ON	% BELOW	% ABOVE	% ON	% BELOW
1				37	5	58	43	14	43
2	16	12	72	53	3	44	56	10	34
3	37	9	54	73	0	27	83	0	17
4	38	8	54	53	0	47	63	0	37
5	28	6	66	23	3	74	36	0	64
6	23	0	70	45	7	48	17	7	76
7	9	6	85	15	7	78	45	0	55
8	30	7	63	36	10	54	10	10	80

While there, she was in Sister Grace's class and did work prior to her student teaching in a "Workshop Way" classroom. Her first impression was that it provided "too much freedom." Big boys who could not read were up walking and looking around the classroom. Later in the semester she again visited this same classroom and found these same boys really reading and doing learning tasks. As a result Sister Michelle had no trouble convincing Sister Helen to come down and start the "Workshop Way" with the first grade children.

"The first year," Sister Helen says, "was rather difficult at times."[3] She tried to create an atmosphere of love, warmth, security, confidence, trust, and relaxation. It was important to go slow. She taught the children how to care for materials, what can be used, where they can be used, and where they are to be kept permanently. Most of the materials have a self-check answer built in for an immediate feedback. This philosophy is based on Sister Grace Pilon's five freedom's.[4]

Sister Helen's classroom has rows of armed deskchairs painted a bright yellow color, two chalkboards, two bulletin boards, a library table and chairs, and an aquarium. The floor is covered with indoor-outdoor carpet of green, yellow and orange. Vivid colored alphabet picture cards, depicting scenes that would be typical in the lives of black children, were placed above the chalkboard on two walls. The words used for each of the alphabet letters were A for Afro, B for beautiful, C for cool, D for dream, E for everybody, F for family, G for grocery, H for home, I for important, J for jazz, K for kids, etc., all through the letters of the alphabet. Shelving was built across the back wall of the room about four feet high. Another shelf was in front of the library table to divide that area from the remainder of the room. The back wall shelves contained the following:

1. Puzzles. These individual pieces were in a box with a number on it to correspond to the number on the puzzle frame.
2. Cardboard objects to trace.
3. Words. These were taken from old books and workbooks, pasted on a strip of paper and laminated.
4. Tripod magnifying glass.
5. Library books.

6. Religion books.

7. Dictionary.

8. Green Thinkers. (One group was matching name cards with picture name cards to develop visual discrimination and matching skills.)

9. First Talking Alphabet Phonics Cards.

A box, which closely resembled four man-sized shoe boxes attached together and covered with green flowered contact paper, was the holder for such things as writing paper, newspaper want-ad pages (these were cut in 8 x 11 sheets for visual discrimination and letter recognition. (The children were to circle the letter t for example.) Also found in the boxes was scribble paper. This box was on the lower shelf by the library table in easy access for the small hands that came by. A tripod chart holder held a color chart showing the color names and vivid colors for each color represented. There were certain tasks to be accomplished by each child for this chart.

This room at first glance seems well organized with many more available materials than ever seen in a classroom ready for children to use.

A homemade listening center, which was made by capable hands of the school custodians, and closely resembling the old fashioned feed trough, extended across the wall under the chalkboard. This was the resting place for the 10 head sets. Sister Helen makes her own recording using the Talking ABC Cards, where the children listen, see and feel the letters.

A typical day in the first grade "Workshop Way" schedule would find Sister Helen checking homework (words) while other children begin their tasks. School does not officially begin until 8:30, but as soon as the children arrive they come to the room to begin their "Workshop Way" tasks. This is accomplished without any verbal urgings or directions by the teacher.

The tasks are written on cards about 5" x 7" and fastened side by side across the top of the chalkboard by thumbtacks. Each child begins with Number 1 and progresses through the tasks at his own rate of speed. The tasks are accomplished by the children in different ways. Some sit at their desk; others sit or lie on the floor; some work in pairs; two might be reading aloud to each other; and six or more children might be at the listening center. Every child was busily engaged in completing his task and moving on to the next one.

The tasks to be completed are:[5]

1. Alphabet Chart
2. Touch Bumps
3. Paper Folding
4. Green Thinker
5. Color Names
6. Scribble Picture
7. Tracing
8. Science Book, p. 10
9. 3 Across
10. Puzzle
11. Work Sheet
12. Write on Board
13. Newspaper (tracing)
14. Number Names
15. Secret with God
16. Days of the Week
17. Teach a Group
18. Red Thinker
19. Ordinals
20. Health Book
21. Magnifying Glass
22. Spelling
23. S.R.A.
24. Etc.

As these children are completing the different tasks, the teacher is moving about among the children checking and helping where it is needed. She is not giving any verbal directions but allowing them to move freely any place they choose to work.

A green plastic box with each child's name on a cardboard divider is placed on a table. As a child finished a task that is a loose sheet of paper, he places the paper behind his name in the box. First year children were accomplishing this task after a few weeks of school.

After the "Workshop Way" session, the whole group participate in lessons such as Oral Language Development, Mathematics, Phonics, Religion, Physical Education, Writing, and Reading. In organizing the "Workshop Way," Sister Grace Pilon said,[6]

> Although the system operates in an environment conditioned by five freedoms and the teachers enjoy flexibility in time and curriculum, there are enough MUSTS to give the pupils security. Pupils must do the workshop tasks in order. Teachers must follow a sequence of activities throughout the day in teaching subject matter. This latter requirement precludes the possibility of a teacher allowing an exaggerated permissiveness or floundering in the presentation of subject matter.

The second grade classroom was organized in the same pattern as the first grade. It has bright orange desk chairs, with shelving extending across the back wall. The hosiery companies would be pleased with their cheap advertising if they could see all their boxes stacked neatly on the shelves with Thinker Skills in them. This room has indoor-outdoor carpet, also.

Mrs. Audrey Barker, the second grade teacher, has been teaching here at Sacred Heart School since 1956. She also went to Xavier University in New Orleans, Louisiana, this past summer to enroll in the course taught by Sister Grace Pilon. She prepared many materials in her college class to fit the needs of her children. Mrs. Barker relates that it seems sad to think of the strict, rather dogmatic approach that she used years back. She began using a few ideas from the "Workshop Way" last school year, 1970, but did not thoroughly understand it. However, since her summer's study and preparation of materials, she feels secure and is able to create a classroom where love, confidence, trust and relaxation is evident.

There are two white children in this second grade who were previously enrolled in a public school that was predominately black. One of the boys was asked what he liked about Sacred Heart and was it different from the other school? He said, "Yes!" He went on to say, "I like this school better, because that other school had too many colored people." (Sacred Heart this semester has 269 black and 3 whites.) He also said, "Kids are good to me here." One boy tapped him on the shoulder as he talked and said, "I'll see you tomorrow." He said the other school had "bad" homework. He was reminded that his teacher had just given the homework sheet to him. He said, "Yeah! But I like the homework here--it's not very much to do and I can do it."

Mrs. Barker, at the time of our visit, was working with a reading group of twelve children. She was primarily concerned with comprehension skills. While she was reading with this group, the other children were doing "Workshop." Some were in chairs writing, some on the floor doing tasks, two girls reading to each other, one girl helping a very large below average boy. There was noise, yes--but it was a busy, working noise. The children moved freely from one task to another and talked and checked with their neighbor if the need arose. If the noise level was too high the teacher tapped a bell and said "Power Test." Everyone stopped and looked at the big clock on the wall to watch for the red minute hand to make one revolution. Then the activities are continued.

Mrs. Barker says her second graders are much further in reading than others in previous years. Several children came to her second grade without completing the first grade reading program. These children have completed this in six weeks and are now ready to move on to more difficult work. She feels that the children this year, after having a year of "Workshop Way," are more eager to learn. By eight o'clock they are anxious for her to open the door and want to know "why" if she is late. The school day actually begins at 8:30. Another advantage, states Mrs. Barker, "The children are not so aware of a reading group status as they were in my traditional teaching. I work with several small groups, several large groups and several individual children all within a day's time."[7]

Mrs. Barker thinks she is a much better teacher today than ever before. The "Workshop Way" is part of her rationale and with the support of Sister Michelle, the principal, it has helped to create an attitude of freedom that permeates the whole school. Mrs. Barker states, "There was a time when you never said anything regardless of how you felt. Today, however, it's different. I can go to Sister Michelle to talk about just anything--large or small."[8]

Parents are in her room every week. She calls each parent (she has 38 children this year) to tell them what she is attempting to do and that she needs their help. She was very proud to say that especially the parents of the children who were the weakest and having the most difficulty were eager to come and help.

Mrs. Nelson, a lay Negro teacher who has been teaching at Sacred Heart for 27 years, was also interviewed. She is not using the "Workshop Way," but explained that her third grade children this year were "different--so different."[9] In response to probing as to how they are different, she said, "You know our children are usually about two years behind in reading. This year when I started reviewing, they knew the words. They knew sounds and how to attack any work, which enables me to move to more difficult material." She further stated, "They are much more independent and alert. They know how to move from one activity to another and seem to want to work and learn."[10]

She explained that she was enrolled in school this summer completing her B.A. Degree. She does not have the individualized materials that Sister Grace Pilon, the originator of the Workshop Way, recommends for her classroom. Instead, Mrs. Nelson uses extra work sheets, games and word cards for enrichment work. She is very anxious to acquire some materials and wants to try the "Workshop Way," but so far a lack of time has made it impossible for her to prepare the materials.

Contract Plan

Sister Michelle, the principal of Sacred Heart School, is an energetic, inquisitive individual who is not satisfied with comfortable routine unless she can see evidence of growth and an awareness and alertness in the students. Therefore, she is constantly urging and leading her teachers to try new ideas--live new experiences.

After the launching of the "Workshop Way" last year in both grades one and two, the principal felt that there should be a better way of stimulating the imagination and interests of the young adolescents in her charge. She did not want to use the "Workshop Way" itself with the older children, but she did want the philosophy behind this program included for these children, also. With research and study she chose the "Contract Method" as the vehicle which she, her teachers, and students would use. She discussed her ideas with her staff and provided means by which they could observe "the new plan" in action in the Jeanerette School System, Jeanerette, Louisiana. The principal herself studied the "Contract Plan" in LaCrosse, Wisconsin, at Viterbo College for six weeks during the summer, 1971.

The contracts are developed by the teachers in the various subject areas, for example, social studies, mathematics, science, and English. The teacher spends considerable time in developing a contract which is designed to cover thoroughly a specific unit, area, principle or section of material for mastery. Such categories as content classification, purpose, criterion performance, definitions, taxonomy category, resources, etc. are stated, explored and covered in a contract. A preview of the work to be completed is presented by the teacher. Each student is then given a contract to read. At this point the student decides how much time he will need to complete and fulfill the terms of the contract. He then signs the contract and dates the time for completion. The student develops a feeling that he has been offered the opportunity to make a choice in part of what he will be doing each day. Not only is he afforded the opportunity of choosing the length of time for the completion of the contract, but he is also given the opportunity to make the decision of whether or not the contract is too difficult for him. The teacher questions the student whether or not he is confident about his decision. "What happens if you do not fulfill your contract?" was asked of several students. A rather serious expression crossed the face of an eighth grade girl as she answered, "Oh, but everybody wants to complete his contract before time if possible because nobody--but nobody--wants to be late! You'd be dumb if that happened to you."

A handsome, alert boy in the top level of the eighth grade was quick to point out, "You see with this method everybody is working on his level, and, Man, there is no reason why you can't do the work. You see I'm working to get a scholarship so I can go to college, and, Man, you can't get a scholarshiop if you're not on your toes. Man, you gotta stay with it."

"The teachers help you if you don't understand, or someone in the class who knows how to do what you're "hung-up" on can give you a hand and help out," was the answer given by a sixth grade girl who was functioning on Level III, which is the "slowest" ability level.

Six of the students interviewed volunteered the information that there is a general appreciation of the contract method by the students because, "It does not hold you back. You can go as far as you can and as fast as you can. You don't have to wait for the others to catch up."

One student stated, "I like the contracts 'cause it's like racing with yourself. It's kind of like the song I saw a guy dance to--something about me and my shadow. Well, you see you are always there, but it's kind of like a shadow 'cause you keep on trying to do better than you've already done. You just know you can do it."

It was learned later that all of the students had been made aware that the school would open on Saturday for any student who was not able to fulfill his contract on time. To date it has not been necessary to open Saturday school for anyone. The general comment from most students queried about this was, "Man, you don't want to be called 'stupid.' You get it all done."

In order to provide the best learning experiences possible for all the students, the principal and her staff feel that homogeneous grouping, involving three levels of general ability and performance, provides for optimum growth and development in the presently used plan. The more advanced students are able to progress at a faster rate than those who need more special attention. Moreover, with the three levels or divisions the teacher is able to work with small groups who need help on similar problems or questions; or a student who has already mastered the work may assist other students; or the student needing help may turn to the IMC (Instructional Media Center) for assistance.

In these classrooms, too, the painted desks of bright yellow, the attractive and provocative bulletin boards, along with the various resource materials immediately tell the story that this is a setting that is conducive to both teaching and learning. The students rise to greet the visitors in unison. "Good Morning." or "Good Afternoon." After the salutation of courtesy some students look expectantly at the visitor as if to ask, "Aren't you going to ask me some questions, or don't you want to know what I am doing?" Others simply are too involved with what they are doing to pay much attention to anyone else. On this particular afternoon several students in social studies were involved in the problem of latitude and longitude. One animated seventh grade student beamed as she declared, "This is easy because I kept up with Hurricane Edith as she crossed Honduras; then way down in the Gulf of Mexico before she hit landfall down close to Cameron! They showed it on Channel 7 and I plotted it on my hurricane map just like the weatherman did on T.V."

During this time the teacher was involved with one student who was experiencing difficulty comprehending the meaning and use of the terms latitude and longitude. After the third explanation, the teacher called the student by name and stated, "You are not listening; you haven't heard what I said--now listen carefully." Again she explained, and then the student said, "Oh, I see," and proceeded to plot the degrees of latitude and longitude on the map section of her contract.

From time to time the teacher walked by to see that this student was completing her work correctly. It was somewhat confusing to see students constantly moving about the room. Some gathered materials and left by the door leading to the south exit. Others were in a similar process of leaving by the north exit. Several students were whispering quietly and explaining certain sections of their work. The teacher explained that students had the freedom to move in whatever direction they felt would best expedite the means toward completion of their contracts; therefore, the students were permitted without each time requesting permission from the teacher to go to the library, to go to the IMC, or to remain in the classroom. Before the students left the room at the end of the period, they were asked if anyone had contracts for which he is responsible in that particular class. These are kept for evaluation purposes. The post test follows this phase of completion.

The science laboratory was a mass of activity. Each student had the written problem which his contract required. The teacher dispensed the materials which each student indicated were needed for his experiment. These mixtures were placed in the appropriate beakers, or test tubes; various samples were analyzed; weights were adjusted; watches were in evidence as proper times were observed.

The teacher was moving about constantly. She was heard to explain the physical and chemical properties of iron and sulphide to a student. "You see one of the ways in which they differ is that iron can be magnetized. Get a magnet and you will understand what I mean." The student placed the magnet in the properties and immediately saw the iron particles drawn toward the magnet.

Another student's solutions had not boiled according to the time specified in her problem. The teacher explained that if the student lowered the standard and closed the window the flame would be directly under the solution; the student followed the directions; looked at her watch, and in a short time she gave the "a-okay" sign and proceeded to write up the details of her experiment.

The bulletin board contained a written account of a number of completed experiments. One gave a detailed description of testing two well-known brands of toothpaste to determine which contained more acid.

One student who had been in the IMC looking at film strips which explained energy reported to the teacher that she was ready to begin her experiment. She requested the necessary properties. It was time for the bell and the teacher explained, "You can do this tomorrow because there won't be enough time now." Each student hastily accounted for all of the materials and properties which he had received and rushed to the next class.

The rapport between teacher and students was quite visible in a lower level ability group in a language arts class. The same contract had been assigned to eleven boys. The girls were in physical education. It was obvious that these students were not the brightest in the class. Yet the "friendly but you are responsible" approach used by the Sister kept each boy trying. When a student made an error in the vocabulary study, he was informed of his error in such a way that he did not feel defeated nor hesitant to attempt the next word. One very small but lively young gentleman, as the Sister referred to him, reported that a "mice" on television sang, "Viva," which was one of the words in the vocabulary section of the contract. This brought praise from the teacher that the student had remembered the correct pronunciation, but the word "mice" is plural and he should have used the singular term "mouse."

The lesson in no way resembled a dull, routine drill of the vocabulary list. Rather, it incorporated reading skills, spelling, a section of social studies in which Mexico as a neighbor was discussed, a bit of history involving President Dwight D. Eisenhower, and the location of several cities.

The physical education program appears to be a delight for both boys and girls. There is a part-time black male physical education teacher who is concentrating on coordination, skills, etc., in basketball. He coaches the football team. "He's really neat. Sister was all right, but she just wasn't up to what coach can do," was the comment of one of the boys.

A priest from the local church teaches religion and appears to relate well with the students. One tall eighth grade girl said, "He's cool; he speaks our language is why I like religion." She further stated, "He doesn't just stay with books. He talks with you. I hate to go to public school next year because I can't take religion. I'll have to go though because it will cost too much for me to go to St. Louis Academy." She shook her head sadly.

The instructional media center contains film strips, records, ear phones, and various visual reference sources. Since this is a beginning venture, the equipment is limited; however, the principal and her staff envision developing a little theater, a creative art media, and a better arrangement for showing films. Students are using the center and are looking forward to the delivery of new furniture.

In this open structure school, students are free to go to the library whenever they feel the need. There is no librarian on duty; it is operated on the honor system. Although there are many good books and much material available to the students, the staff desires more and better materials. The language arts teacher explained that she plans to develop individual contracts for the most advanced students. This includes one student who attended McNeese State University last summer as a member of the "Governor's Program" which involves the very brightest students in Louisiana.

The contract plan has been in operation only a few weeks. It is too early to evaluate the program. It is evident that the teachers like ("Although we've never worked so hard before") it; the students feel challenged and want to meet the challenge positively, and the parents are giving their support. These are the factors that usually spell success--we must wait and evaluate.

Music Program

With a desire to produce a "Black History" program, Sister Michelle requested that Sister Letitia be assigned to Sacred Heart for five months. (Sister Letitia is 76 years old and supposed to be retired. However, it seems that along the way that someone has forgotten to tell Sister Letitia that she is retired.) She is very vivacious, full of energy, and music. She brought along the copy of the Black History Program that she had helped produce in Pennsylvania. After arriving she realized Sacred Heart had both boys and girls so it was necessary to rewrite the entire program to include both and also to make it more appropriate to Louisiana.

Prior to this time there had been no music program at Sacred Heart, so Sister Letitia's immediate task was to teach fourteen songs to 71 boys and girls in grades 6, 7 and 8. That was seemingly an impossible task since only a week was available to learn the songs before the Black History Week. With Sister Letitia's enthusiasm and help, this task was accomplished.

The first production was such a success that many requests for the program followed. It has been given nine more times, the last one being at the First Methodist Church (white church). Some highlights of the program and the historical importance of black people are: Pedro Alonzo, who came to North America with Columbus; Esevancio (Little Stephen) who was a black man in Cortez Party hunting for the "7 Cities of Gold;" the first wheat was planted by a black man; Chrisper Atticus, a black slave helped throw tea overboard at the Boston Tea Party and the first man to give his life in the massacre that followed; Phyllis Wheatley was the first Negro poet in the New World; Harriet Tuhman helped lead over 300 black people to freedom via the underground railroad during the Civil War; Frederick Douglas was an advisor to Lincoln, publisher of a newspaper and an ex-slave. The program closed with the singing of "I Have A Dream" by Martin Luther King.

Sister Michelle, the principal, says that when she goes into the room where Sister Letitia is teaching, one of the larger boys will give her a wink, smile, and a nod as if to say, "Go along Sister, our music teacher has everything under control." "We feel we are greatly blessed to have a person with the talent, background, and enthusiasm that Sister Letitia possesses. She is a real challenge for the others of us to try to keep up with her,"[11] said Sister Michelle.

Parent Cooperation

The "Workshop Way" is closely aligned to parent involvement. Indeed, the parents are a vital part of the school and the "open door" policy is really in practice. At Sacred Heart several parents were seen in the first and second grade rooms. They were involved in chores from cutting paper to sitting by a child while he worked. Sister Michelle stated that the parents, after being presented with the option of trying to finance some innovative practices in their school, accepted the reresponsibility of financing $5,000 for this school year.

Last April, the parents met and divided into five area committees and appointed a chairman for each. They planned fund raising activities in the individual areas, but together they produced a children's "Mini-Fair" to help raise funds. On Sundays after church, different groups sell coffee and doughnuts. Other groups sell things such as candy, sweet potatoe pies, and cakes. Last Saturday they had a cake sale and made $180.00. Varied events such as raffles, barbeques, and French dances add nickels to the needed budget. Parents evidently are interested in their children and what they are learning, to gather funds from so much real "leg work" in this nickel and dime fashion.

The P.T.A. meets in the evening with an Open House meeting. Each meeting during the year emphasizes either the Elementary (K-3), Middle (4-5) or Junior High (6-8), so the parents with several children can visit each child's teacher on a different meeting night. As another incentive for parents to attend P.T.A., the report cards are returned each grading period by the parents to the respective teacher. Both parents of many of the children work during the day so this provides a school visit for them. Teachers are encouraged to have a parent meeting to explain the philosophy and psychology of the "Workshop Way" to parents.

Queried as to why they sent their children to Sacred Heart, most parents emphasized the values of religious training, or alumni attachment, or the nuns' dedication to teaching.[12] Three parents had children in the school before the "Workshop Way" was introduced. In making a comparison to the older children, they said the children under the new program were progressing much faster and were much more self-sufficient at a younger level. They expressed gratitude to the Sisters for the Contract Method and felt that their children were excited over learning at their own rate and speed. "We think it's the best school in Lake Charles. Please help us to keep it open."

Other Developments

Three teachers were observed in the public schools of the Lake Charles area using the "Workshop Way." Two of the teachers were in Calcasieu Parish and one in the adjoining Cameron Parish.

The two teachers in Calcasieu Parish were full time students at McNeese State University, Early Childhood Department, during the school year, 1970-71. Throughout their student teaching phase they were encouraged by their supervising teacher from the University to visit Sacred Heart. They did visit Sacred Heart, with this writer, accompanying them. They were impressed, bought the book "Workshop Way" and made many Thinker Tasks during the summer, 1971.

This school year, 1971-72, they are beginning to organize their classrooms into a more flexible pattern that allows for true responsibility and individualization, not just more of the same thing. Both of these teachers have gone back to Sacred Heart this fall for a revisit to help clarify some areas. The principal taught for one of the teachers for the two hours she was visiting Sacred Heart.

According to Bill Blanton[13] in reporting of the research on Model Reading Programs, he states:

> . . . research has demonstrated that an innovative reading program is more likely to be adopted if the demonstration site is able to provide active "follow-up"

> assistance to those who have visited the demonstration site and are considering the new reading program at their home sites. Assistance includes distribution of sample materials and other information; opportunity for return visits for in-depth study of the program; consultants willing to assist local sites in the installation of the program.

This statement confirms what these two teachers needed was to reinforce their further actions. One of the teachers said[14] "I have never felt like I wanted to hug a Negro before, but after watching Mrs. Barker so beautifully execute the things had been trying to do, I just wanted to hug her as a way of saying 'Thanks' for clarifying this for me."

The first and second grade teachers have asked their principal for permission to study the "Workshop Way" as their in-service project for this year. The one first grade teacher who is using the "Workshop Way" said, "Many of the other teachers kept asking how I knew how to organize my classroom and where did I get the materials and on and on."[15] So evidently the mustard seed has been planted in Calcasieu Parish.

The teacher in Cameron Parish has been teaching twenty-eight years. Last spring semester she was enrolled in a Reading Course in the Department of Early Childhood Education at McNeese State University. The professor (this writer) encouraged her to visit Sacred Heart to see the innovation they were using. She did so and she, too, was very impressed, wrote for the book and made a few tasks before school opened this fall, 1971. I visited her room after eight weeks of school and she expressed, "I am thrilled with the effects of the 'Workshop Way.' It has provided a developmental process that has enabled my children to get into reading sooner and with much more ease than ever before. They are much more self-sufficient and easily move from one task to another with no teacher direction. It allows children to really progress at their own speed. I feel I really know my children's capabilities and interests."[16] The recess bell rang and as the children went outside leaving their materials on their tables, the teacher laughed and said, "I can't believe how I've changed. Last year I would have told the children to put everything off their tables before going outside for recess. I'm so glad I have changed because I enjoy what I'm doing and the children seem to enjoy it, but I want you to know it is much more work involved than my old traditional way of teaching." This teacher expressed the desire to revisit Sacred Heart and also to confer with the two younger neophytes.

> Would it not be wonderful if, after years of telling teachers what to do and where to go, American education savants and officials suddenly discovered that the only real and lasting reforms in education in fact come about when teachers themselves are given facilities and released time "to do their own thing"?[17]

SUMMARY

The evidence from Sacred Heart School seems to indicate that the "Workshop Way" is ONE innovative way of working with children. The children in this system are no longer just listeners and recipients of teacher knowledge, but active participants.

We told it like it was or like we were able to see it. True enough, the eyes reveal only what the brain computer can feed back.

We saw a school where the principal gave the desire, incentive and freedom, plus teachers who dared to be different and UNUSUAL.

FOOTNOTES

1. Statement by Miss Mary Ryan, October 21, 1971.
2. Statement by Sister Michelle Callanan, September 22, 1971
3. Statement by Sister Helen Butcher, September 23, 1971
4. Pilon, Grace H. The Workshop Way, New Orleans, Louisiana: Xavier University, 1970. p. 21.
5. Ibid., pp. 34-81.
6. Ibid., p. 224.
7. Statements by Mrs. Audrey Barker, September 27, 1971.
8. Ibid., October 17, 1971.
9. Statements by Mrs. Mildred Nelson, October 17, 1971.
10. Ibid., October 17, 1971.
11. Statement by Sister Michelle Callanan, October 19, 1971.
12. Statement by randomly selected parents, October 22, 1971.
13. Blanton, Bill. ERIC/CRIER. The Reading Teacher, Vol. 25, No. 1, October, 1971. p. 83.
14. Statement by Mrs. Pam Liles, October 20, 1971.
15. Statement by Mrs. Barbara DiBartolo, November 3, 1971.
16. Statements by Mrs. Margaret Kennedy, November 5, 1971.
17. Bailey, Stephen K. "Teacher's Centers: A British First." Phi Delta Kappan, November, 1971. p. 149.

8. THE OPELOUSAS LAWSUIT

by Fr. John J. Walsh

The background here is simple and direct. It consists of three facts: (1) the Admissions Policy of the Catholic School Board of the Diocese of Lafayette; (2) the rejection by the Bishop of Lafayette of a pairing proposal involving a black and a white Catholic school in Opelousas; (3) the initiation by a group of black parents of a law suit naming as defendants the School Board of Holy Ghost School (black), the School Board of the Academy of the Immaculate Conception (white), and the Lafayette Diocesan School Board. The questions are: why did these facts lead to the unprecedented legal action, and what are its implications for Catholic non-public education in Louisiana?

But these questions cannot be directly posed without locating the community and the schools for whom they are immediately significant. It is more than historically important, therefore, to know that Opelousas is located in St. Landry (Civil) Parish, one of the first 19 parishes established by the Territorial Legislature in 1807 from the old Attakapas District. The white inhabitants of the area include many descendants of the Acadians, who along with the French and English were prominent among its early settlers. Known as the "Eden of Louisiana", St. Landry's fertile soil has made it an agricultural parish. Sweet potatoes (yams) are the main crop.[1]

St. Landry's total population was 80,364 in 1970. Of this number 47,107 or 58.6% were white and 33,257 or 41.4% were black.[2] Opelousas, the parish seat of justice, is a town of just over 20,000, 9,906 or 47.2% white and 10,215 or 50.8% non-white. During the past ten years the total population has experienced a growth of 15.5% almost all of this increase being in the non-white residents.[3]

The two Catholic schools central to this study have long been a part of the Opelousas scene. The Academy of the Immaculate Conception was established in 1858 and except for two years during the Civil War it has remained almost continuously open for white students from Opelousas and surrounding areas. The Marionites of the Holy Cross have staffed the school since 1858 except for a 12 year period after the Civil War. It had an elementary school (K-8) and a high school (9-12), separated by sex. The girls were taught by the Sisters and the boys by Christian Brothers. It was coeducational up until the end of the 1968-69 school term.

The Academy has a spacious campus with modern facilities. It has a large gym and possesses a track and football field. It contains two libraries, one for the elementary division and the other for the high school. The Cafeteria has been recently enlarged and air-conditioned. A new Science complex and four new classrooms were completed in 1969.

Holy Ghost School, the black Catholic school, began in 1866 as St. Joseph's School, and was conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Family, a religious community of Black nuns founded in New Orleans, Louisiana. The name of the School was changed to Holy Ghost in 1952 and it became the first school for Blacks in the State of Louisiana to become State accredited. It has educated Blacks from Opelousas and the surrounding areas for over a hundred years. Holy Ghost has a beautiful campus with very modern buildings built in 1956. It has an elementary and high school complex containing 24 classrooms, two Science laboratories and a new air-conditioned Cafeteria. It doesn't possess a gym.

These two schools are situated in the same area of the town, ironically enough, separated by the Catholic Cemetery. They both possess excellent plants and each had the same number of religious teachers, 10 each.

Diocesan Policy and Evolution of the Court Case.

During the summer of 1969, the deadline on "Freedom of Choice" was handed down by the Supreme Court. "Freedom of Choice" was the option in Louisiana and the South, whereby students could choose the school of their choice. It was originally intended as a means to integrate the public schools. It never fulfilled this purpose and was finally done away with by the decision of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court ordered a Unitary School System for all pupils to begin in the 1969/70 school year.

In the month of June, 1969 the Superintendent of Catholic Schools for the Diocese of Lafayette warned Principals and Pastors of Catholic schools not to become 'havens of Segregation' for whites fleeing the public schools. Despite this warning by the Superintendent several Catholic schools with all white or predominantly white student bodies began accepting white students from the public schools. The Academy of the Immaculate Conception in Opelousas was one of these schools. In September 1969 it accepted 100 of these students and reached a record enrollment.

It must be noted that schools supported by ecclesial parishes had a special problem with requests for admission of students at the time of the integration of the public schools. These students and their parents belong to the parish religious family and, hence, must support their parishes and schools whether they attend or not. It was a peculiarly difficult problem to refuse admission to students whose parents helped build and support these schools. Even though their motives for sending their children to the parochial school, at that particular time, might be suspect, their verbal declaration of other motives placed Principals and Pastors in a dilemma.

On December 11, 1969, the Social Action Committee of the Clergy Association of Lafayette issued a statement which among other things said, "The Diocese of Lafayette should actually seek the elimination of all discrimination and segregation in our Catholic school system. The basic purpose for this action should not be merely to mix people but rather to provide the opportunity for the people of God of this diocese to live the Gospels and, thereby, remove the long-existing scandal in which our church as been involved. In other words, our Diocese should create a unitary school system. A commitment to this goal must be made by the Diocesan authority at the highest level. This commitment must be unequivocal."[4] It then suggested various guidelines.

On January 20, 1970 the Lafayette Diocesan School Board officially affirmed the substance of the foregoing goals and pledged itself to follow a reasonable and honest course in solving the "race question". It acknowledged that much of the racial division of parochial schools originated in the separate church parishes but urged the school authorities of the diocese to enter into a movement leading to a meeting of the minds. To this end it published the following diocesan statement of policy on school admissions:

I. Policy on Student Admissions.

To uphold the Christian principles of brotherhood and charity, to avoid effectively scandal, and to promote responsibly the well being of the public school system, the

Diocesan School Board adopts the following policy on the admission of students into the schools of the Diocese effective 20, January 1970. The policy remains in effect until revoked.

1. Schools are prohibited from admitting students into grades 2 through 8 and 10 through 12 who were not enrolled and attended a Catholic school previously. The only exception is the case of a bona fide consolidation of schools.

   NOTA BENE: By letter from the Diocesan Superintendent dated 11 February 1970, this first policy was amended as follows: "That the Diocesan School Board has advised me that it favors granting exceptions to that part of the Diocesan Policy on Student Admissions which states that children are not to be admitted into certain grades if they have not previously attended a Catholic school.

   > "The Board further stipulated that ALL exceptions are to be made by the Diocesan Superintendent ONLY. Principals, therefore, are kindly asked to submit requests for exceptions IN WRITING to the Diocesan Superintendent. Please do not encourage anyone who approaches with such a request by suggesting that you believe it will be granted.
   >
   > If an exception is granted for a group, it is not necessary to petition for each individual of the group.
   >
   > Failing to request an exception will subject the school to a possible removal of the non-expected pupil."

2. Pupils who registered in a school for the first time and withdrew before or shortly after (within a month) the 1969-70 school term began are not to be enrolled.

3. Schools are prohibited from admitting students into any grade (elementary or secondary), who reside in a civil parish or city other than the parish or city of the school unless the school has, as a matter of policy, accepted students from these civil parishes and cities prior to the 1968-69 term.

4. Class size is to be limited to 35 pupils.

5. Construction or acquisition of new classrooms must be approved by a committee of the Diocesan School Board appointed by the Diocesan Superintendent.

II. Guidelines for Further Action.

So that positive steps may be taken to bring about greater racial justice, rapport and understanding in the schools, the Board adopts the following guidelines.

1. Because the Catholic schools of the Diocese are locally administered and supported and because these schools have administrative and financial problems which are indigenous to the community and schools, the Diocesan School Board directs that a committee be established in every civil parish of the Diocese to study, evaluate and recommend the action which should be taken locally to assure greater racial justice in the Catholic schools of that parish.

   The Catholic School Civil Parish Coordinator will be chairman of the committee. The committee will be composed of the Pastor, Principals, and Parish School Board Chairmen of the civil parish. In those civil parishes in which there is no black Catholic school, the Pastor and a lay representative of the black parish, located in the city of the white Catholic school(s), will also be members of the civil parish committee. Subcommittees should be formed to study, evaluate, and recommend specific action for schools in the various towns or cities of the civil parish.

2. The committee will be required to report to a Diocesan Coordinating Committee, which in turn will report to the Diocesan School Board before its May, 1970 Board meeting. The chairman of each civil parish committee will serve on the coordinating committee under the chairmanship of the Diocesan Superintendent. The civil parish committees will report specifically on what action will be taken toward achieving greater racial justice in the schools according to the schedule approved by the Board. The report will necessarily touch upon the financial and personnel aspects of the action proposed. If some action is not proposed the Diocesan School Board, in consultation with the coordinating committee, will be obliged to propose and mandate action.

III. Proposed List of Required Factual Information.

1. Financial: Tuition, parish subsidies, other sources of income, salaries, other operational costs.
2. Academic: Approval of schools, certification of teachers, qualification of teachers, facilities, teaching aids, class size, bus transportation, course offerings, extra-curricular activities.
3. Administrative: Wishes of parents of school children.

IV. Goals To Be Considered.

1. Pairing of schools.
2. Consolidation of schools.
3. Consolidation of some sections or activities of schools.
4. Interchange of faculty members.
5. Sharing of facilities.
6. A program of encouragement of whites to attend black schools; of blacks to attend white schools.
7. Provision of scholarships.
8. Education of teachers in proper racial attitudes.
9. Program of meetings to continue efforts at reaching greater racial rapport and understanding (racial ecumenism).
10. Employing of black teachers in white schools and white teachers in black schools.
11. Others applicable to the locality of the school.

According to the "Guidelines for further action" mentioned above, a committee was set up for St. Landry's Parish. It held its first meeting on February 11, 1970 and met seven or eight times from February to April, 1970. On April 23, 1970, Rev. Joseph J. Joubert, Coordinator for the committee, reported to the Catholic Superintendent of Schools that three plans were submitted in effect by the Opelousas Catholic Community, one by the Academy of the Immaculate Conception representatives (white) and two (termed minimal and maximum) by the Holy Ghost group (black).

1. The A.I.C. Plan: The Policy of Admissions by the Diocesan Office, it was noted, was closely followed. Three black families (five children) are enrolled in the school and enrollment for kindergarten and first grade had been open to all families presently enrolled in the school, including the minority group. The other grades were filled to capacity. A drive has been inaugurated with the goal set at $70,00.00 of which $40,000.00 has been pledged towards the enlargement of the cafeteria, repair of the gymnasium floor, and three additional classrooms to provide space for present enrollment which is not decreasing after Confirmation as in years past. Registration has already been concluded for the '70-'71 term. In order to make the Diocesan goal "racial harmony in a racially equal and just society" a reality, however, the Academy of the Immaculate Conception

   a) have appointed a coordinator, Mr. Jim Durio, a school board member;

   b) has established a good rapport with the black principals at Northeast Elementary School and Holy Ghost School and have met them several times to discuss similar problems;

   c) has consolidated some activities of the schools: athletic competition, scholastic (speech, choral, and science fairs);

   d) will educate teachers in proper racial attitudes by periodic meetings during the year;

   e) will schedule program of meetings to continue efforts at reaching greater racial rapport and understanding by having several joint faculty meetings with black schools;

   f) will employ a black assistant librarian and vocal teacher if qualified and desirable ones can be found.

According to Fr. Joubert, the coordinator of the St. Landry Parish Committee, the above plan was regarded as mere "tokenism" and totally unacceptable to the black community. For their part, the representatives of this black Catholic school submitted the following proposal:

2. The Holy Ghost Plan: In presenting this plan of amalgamation of A.I.C. and Holy Ghost, some fundamental ideas must be included. Firstly, it is not just a desire of the black Catholic population to integrate for the sake of integration. They are convinced that the Catholic Church is racist. They hear continually from their non-Catholic brethren the remarks

that they are second-class Catholics. They are tired of defending the Church when no defense is possible.

Secondly, they are perfectly happy with Holy Ghost School. If it wasn't for the first reason, they would not be greatly concerned. They would probably not be interested at all.

They could not see any change in the first objection unless an immediate significant step is made toward a unitary system. Mere exchange of faculty, meetings of the School Board, interscholastic competition would not constitute a significant step. Hence the rationale of their plan.

Plan A: The Minimal Plan

A date for the total amalgamation of Holy Ghost and the Academy of the Immaculate Conception should be set immediately. This would in good faith give an opportunity to all who did not wish to participate, either in black or white communities, sufficient time to seek alternate means for the education of their children. This date (should) be set up no later than June 1st, 1970.

The first phase of this unitary system, the significant step mentioned above, should be inaugurated in September 1970 with the conception of Opelousas Central Catholic High School with grades 10, 11, and 12 at the former A.I.C. School; the inception of Opelousas Central Junior High School at the former Holy Ghost High School. Immediate appointment of School Boards for both schools.

As Phase I of this plan, A.I.C. would remain all white grades 1-6, Holy Ghost would remain all black grades 1-6; grades 7-8-9 would be integrated at the former Holy Ghost School (now to be called Opelousas Central Junior High), grades 10-11-12 would be integrated at the former A.I.C. School (now to be called Opelousas Central High School).

As Phase II of this plan, integrated grades 1-4 and 10-12 would occupy the former A.I.C. school; grades 5-9 would occupy the former Holy Ghost School.

Plan B: The Maximum Plan

This plan was submitted at our second meeting and in the view of the framers represents "in the long run the wiser plan." This would be announced in June, 1970 and made operational in September, 1970. It envisates the total pairing of A.I.C. and Holy Ghost Schools.

Grades 7-12 remain as suggested in Minimum Plan, Phase I. Grades 1-6 immediately paired (not suggested in Minimum Plan) in one of the following ways:

1. School A: Boys
   School B: Girls

2. Schools A and B not separated by sex, but students assigned alphabetically.

3. School A: Grades 1-4
   School B: Grades 5-6

In addition this Holy Ghost school plan provided that faculties would be paired to the extent of pairing of classes in both cases. The pastor of Holy Ghost Parish has committed his finances to subsidize the difference between the tuition scale at Holy Ghost and the tuition scale at A.I.C. for the black students.

According to Father Joubert, the committee coordinator, the Academy of the Immaculate Conception (white) representatives rejected both Plan A and Plan B above. In their views, what the black community proposed as a "significant step" would in effect destroy both schools because adequate financial support and faculty acceptance would be lacking. Furthermore, the A.I.C. group thought the 1970 operational date unfair and unrealistic because their registration had been completed for the '70-'71 school year and because teacher assignments have already been made. They reported that a poll of the faculty revealed that such a plan was acceptable to only one teacher in the High School department and to one teacher in the elementary department. They urged delay (not specified) to prepare schedules, to consider financial and educational feasibility, to instill Christian attitudes in the faculty. Monsignor Broussard, Pastor of St. Landry's (white) Parish, expressed the view that Opelousas was being "used as a test-case" and that if action is mandated along these lines for this community, it should be mandated for the entire diocese. He cited specifically the example of Father Teurlings School and Holy Rosary in Lafayette. Other difficulties raised concerning the proposals of the Holy Ghost representatives included the prospect that these plans would not utilize three (3) classrooms in the Academy of the Immaculate Conception, would require three (3) additional classrooms at Holy Ghost, and would force two elderly sisters at A.I.C. to the inconvenience of commuting to Holy Ghost School.

To these objections the Holy Ghost representatives simply asked the following questions: Should it be done? Can it be done? Will another year make any significant change in the acceptability of this plan by the white community? Sister Mary Joanne, S.S.F., the principal of Holy Ghost, expressed the opinion that "waiting could only be detrimental, as it would give time for the forces of opposition to solidify, that it would be interpreted as a sign of relectance by the CHURCH." Father Hurney, the pastor of Holy Ghost Parish, added: "It would be done. The only way is to announce the policy in June, conduct re-registration, make refunds when necessary, THEN plan class schedules and finances accordingly based upon actual registration. It could be done in September, 1970."

This, then, was the situation. An impasse had been reached. The Opelousas group was unable to agree upon a mutually acceptable plan for the pursuit of racial justice in its schools. The decision was referred to the Bishop of the Lafayette Diocese and to the Diocesan Department of Education.

On May 21, 1970 a meeting was called for the pastors of the four Catholic churches in Opelousas. At this meeting a statement from the Bishop of the Diocese of Lafayette, Most Reverend Maurice Schexnayder, was read. In brief, it announced that there would be no joining of the Catholic schools in Opelousas.

One month later, on June 24, 1970, this decision was challenged. A group of black parents with children enrolled in Holy Ghost School filed Civil Action 15804 against the School Board of Holy Ghost, the School Board of Immaculate Conception, and the Diocesan School Board. It was a "class action suit" for all the black pupils, now known as the "Auzenne Case" after the last name of the lead plaintiff.

The results of this civil action were not long in coming. Indeed, on August 6, 1970, the Diocesan School Board was advised that Bishop Schexnayder, reluctant to have plans for integrating Catholic schools litigated in the courts, had removed his veto of the joining of the Academy of the Immaculate Conception and Holy Ghost School in Opelousas. The Diocesan School Board then mandated the following plan:

A. 1. The Academy of the Immaculate Conception and Holy Ghost school, Opelousas, will by the inception of the 1971 school year pair according to the plan herein established by this Board.

2. In preparation for this pairing, the faculties of the two schools are to be integrated by the inception of the 1970 school year in this manner: There are to be 11 black teachers on the Academy and 10 white teachers on the Holy Ghost faculty.

3. The plan of integration of student bodies is the following:

   a. Pupils will be divided into the following sections:

      (1) Grades K-5 at the former Academy.
      (2) Grades 6-9 at the former Holy Ghost School.
      (3) Grades 10-12 at the former Academy.

   b. The school will be under one administration with three Principals in charge of the sections.

   c. The name of the school will be selected by the newly formed school board, if this board wishes a new name.

   d. A board will be formed by October 1, 1970 with the following membership:

      (1) Pastors of Holy Ghost and St. Landry Parishes.
      (2) Principals of the school.
      (3) Eight laymen (four black, four white).

   e. A constitution for the Board is to be drawn up by November 1, 1970 for approval by the Bishop of Lafayette.

   f. The tuition schedule must reflect an effort by the school board of exhausting all other sources of income prior to its establishment.

   g. No child enrolled in either of these two schools may be accepted into another Catholic school of the Diocese unless he is a member of a family which is obliged to move into another city or town.

B. All other dual school situations in the Diocese will be removed by the inception of the 1971 school term. In every case, the plan of integration is to be patterned on the plan for the two Opelousas schools established by action of the Diocesan Board this 6 August 1970. The Civil Parish Catholic School Coordinator for Racial Justice is authorized to oversee the proper, accurate and effective implementation of this resolution as it applies to every civil Parish of the Diocese.

Opelousas Catholic

The release of this new directive spurred action on a number of fronts. The lawsuit was not withdrawn because the plaintiffs, concerned about the prospect of the closure of other black Catholic schools,hope that the Court will hold jurisdiction as they have done in the public school suits. But in Opelousas action was taking place. The combined School Board chose the name Opelousas Catholic for the new school and arranged during the academic year 1970-71 for the pairing of the faculties. At the same time a group of dissident white parents (Opelousas Educational Foundation, Inc), mainly the parents of children enrolled in Immaculate Conception, built a new school known as Bellmont Academy, one mile from the A.I.C. grounds. Nonetheless, in September 1971, Opelousas Catholic opened with the student bodies paired per the diocesan directive. Its enrollment was 1230 students, a loss of 417 students from the combined totals for A.I.C. and Holy Ghost in 1970-71.

The results of this "experiment" are not yet in. Both black and white members of the community are still fearful but there is also hope. And ironically, it has been the "little" things that have harassed the pairing experiment. Thus, it had been predicted that the increase in tuition would lead to a decline in black student enrollment in the paired schools. There was a slight decline in fact but it was not primarily caused by the increased tuition. The black community largely settled this part of the problem by facing it as a group. They paid the new rates at Opelousas Catholic by subsidizing as a parish the dollar difference between the old tuition at Holy Ghost and the new tuition in the paired school. The reason some black students did not return was the requirement of a school uniform. This was an added cost for black parents with a number of children but, equally important, it was a requirement ridiculed by some students. Similarly, many of the initial difficulties at Opelousas Catholic have involved the attempts to get consensus on school colors, class rings, school mascot, etc.

The new school does, of course, have some more important problems. It is still trying to establish an identity. There are financial problems because the budget was based on 35 students to a class rather than on the 20 to 25 students in a class. The question of educational standards is constantly present, especially where students cannot be grouped homogeneously. But the students seem to want to make Opelousas Catholic succeed. And black and white parents as well as teachers acknowledge that "things are going better than we expected." The Opelousas Law Suit is still unresolved but Opelousas Catholic School is integrated.

The major part of the legal brief filed in behalf of the plaintiffs is reproduced verbatim below:

AUZENNE CASE - Civil Action #15804

FIRST CLAIM

Jurisdiction

1. The jurisdiction of this Court is invoked pursuant to the provisions of Title 28 U.S.C ss 1343 (3) (4). This is an action in equity, authorized by law, Title 42 U.S.C. ss 1981 and 1983. The rights, privileges and immunities sought to be secured by this action are rights derived from the Constitution and laws of the United States, as hereinafter more fully appears.

2. This is a proceeding for a preliminary and permanent injunction to enjoin the defendants from continuing their policy, practice, custom and usage of operating a dual system of Catholic Schools for Negro and White pupils in Opelousas, St. Landry Parish, Louisiana.

Parties

3. Minor plaintiffs are citizens of the United States and the state of Louisiana who reside within St. Landry Parish, Louisiana. Minor plaintiffs pay tuition to attend Holy Ghost School and are eligible, in the same manner, to attend the Academy of the Immaculate Conception.

4. Minor plaintiffs bring this action on behalf of themselves and all other parties similarly situated purusant to Rule 23 (a) and (b) (1) (B) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure. The class of persons affected or which may be affected by the practice herein complained of is so numerous that joinder of all members is impracticable; there are questions of law and fact common to the class; the representative parties will fairly and adequately protect the interest of the class and adjudications with respect to individual members of the class would as a practical matter, be dispositive of the interests of all other parties.

. . . .

9. The administration of the Academy and the Holy Ghost School on a racially separate basis was originally caused and continued as required by the laws and policies of the state of Louisiana. The Academy was established in 1856 and was functioning as a racially separate white institution in 1874 when the predecessor of the Holy Ghost School, St. Joseph's School, was established to educate Negro Catholic students of the church parish of St. Landry.

10. The Louisiana State Legislature of 1916 by Act No. 153 (LSA-R.S. 17:2074) authorized the Academy "to confer degrees and grant diplomas which, without further requirement shall qualify the holders thereof for positions as principals or teachers in the public schools of the state." Pursuant to the forgoing authorization, the Academy performed the state function of training and qualifying teachers and administrators for the schools of the state.

11. During the school year 1969-70, approximately 1,155 white children and 5 black children attended grades 1 through 12 at the schools operated by the defendant Academy School Board on a co-education basis. All faculty members at the Academy's elementary and high school were white. The defendant Academy's high school is a state approved non-public high school.

12. During the school year 1969-70, approximately 632 students, all black, attended grades 1 through 12 at the school operated by the defendant Holy Ghost School Board on a co-educational basis. All regular faculty members were Negro. The Holy Ghost High School is a state approved non-public high school.

13. The Academy and Holy Ghost School serve and draw students from the same geographical area of St. Landry Parish.

14. Defendant Academy School Board on April 19, 1970 rejected an educationally sound and administratively feasible plan, prepared by Holy Ghost School personnel, to integrate both schools.

15. Defendant Diocesan School Board rejected on May 14, 1970, a resolution which would have provided for ten members of the Academy faculty to teach at the Holy Ghost School during the 1970-71 school year and eleven members of the Holy Ghost faculty to teach at the Academy during the 1970-71 school year.

16. The racial composition of the student bodies of the Academy and the Holy Ghost School is the result of a deliberate policy of the defendants and their predecessors in office to educate white students at the Academy and to educate Negro children at the Holy Ghost School.

17. The racial composition of the faculties of the Academy and the Holy Ghost School is the result of a deliberate policy decision by the defendants and their predecessors in office to hire and assign teachers to schools attended only or almost entirely by members of their own race.

18. Expansion and construction of facilities at the Academy, being planned by defendant Academy School Board, will increase the racial isolation of the students at the Holy Ghost School and the Academy.

19. The schools, pursuant to authorization by state law, as more fully set forth below, operated by defendants have performed the public purpose of educating numerous citizens of the state of Louisiana.

20. The administration of the Academy and the Holy Ghost School is in conformity with state requirements regarding: attendance, transportation, required courses of study, certification of teachers, athletic events, distribution of books and supplies free of cost, school lunch program, and sight and hearing examinations.

21. Transportation of pupils to and from the Academy and Holy Ghost School is provided by the local government of St. Landry Parish without cost to the students or defendants.

22. Defendants receive tax advantages under state and federal laws in the performance and furtherance of the execution of the public purpose of educating the citizens of the state of Louisiana.

23. Pupils of Holy Ghost School and the Academy receive free books according to a state program administered by the defendants, within their respective schools, and financed by the state of Louisiana.

24. The defendant Mouton, Superintendent of the Lafayette Diocesan Schools, on July 1, 1969, contracted with the Louisiana State Department of Education for participation in the school lunch programs on behalf of defendant schools.

Part of the contract between defendants and the state of Louisiana was an assurance that defendants would comply with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (78 Stat. 257, 42 U.S.C. 2000 d) to the end that there would be no discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin in any program or activity for which assistance was provided.

25. During the 1969-70 school year, Holy Ghost School and the Academy received for each student participating in the school lunch program approximately 13 cents per meal - 8 cents of which is from the state of Louisiana and 5 cents is from the Federal Government. Both schools also benefit from the federal school milk program. Holy Ghost received federal funds to replace cafeteria equipment destroyed by fire during the 1969-70 school year.

26. Holy Ghost School and the Academy receive benefits under various federal, state, and local programs.

27. The Academy operating on a racially segregated basis, has become an alternative for white students seeking to avoid desegregated public schools. In September of 1969 when the St. Landry Parish Public School System was required to establish racially unitary schools by order of the Federal Court, at least 100 white pupils who had previously attended public schools applied to and were enrolled at the Academy.

28. The policy and practice of defendant Diocesan School Board of admitting students to diocesan schools on a racially segregated basis, which schools are operated by the diocese as an adjunct to and supplement of the public system, has impaired public school desegregation, in Opelousas.

SECOND CLAIM

29. Plaintiffs re-allege, as if set forth in full, the allegations contained in paragraphs 1 through 28 above.

30. The acts of defendants in maintaining racially segregated schools violates plaintiffs' rights under tuition contracts contrary to Title 42 U.S.C. s 1981 and s 1983.

31. Plaintiffs pay a monthly tuition of $14 and are prepared to pay a higher tuition to receive an education on a racially integrated basis. The service provided by the defendants on a racially segregated basis is an inferior education to one provided on a racially integrated basis.

32. Defendants' performance of the tuition contracts by practice and effect racially segregates students and faculty contrary to plaintiffs' constitutional rights.

THIRD CLAIM

33. The plaintiffs re-allege, as if set forth in full, the allegations contained in paragraphs 1 through 18, 24 and 25.

34. The rights of the plaintiffs as third-party beneficiaries of an assurance contract signed by defendant Mouton on behalf of the other defendants that federally supported school lunch programs would be administered in a non-discriminatory manner are violated by the racially discriminatory policies and practices of defendants.

FOURTH CLAIM

35. Plaintiffs re-allege, as if set forth in full, the allegations contained in paragraphs 1 through 28.

36. Sections 170 (c) and 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 provide a constitutional system of benefits and grants which fosters and supports defendants illegally administered schools. The tax benefits to the schools, and to the persons contributing to the schools, support the administrative practices and procedures of defendants to the derogation of the constitutional rights of the plaintiffs.

37. Defendants have received benefits under sections 170 (a) (c) and 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

WHEREFORE, Plaintiffs pray that this Court enter an order enjoining defendants, their agents, successors in office, employees and all persons in active consert or participation with them (a) from discriminating on the basis of race and (b) from failing or refusing to adopt and implement a plan for the desegregation of the Academy and the Holy Ghost School and (c) requiring said persons to take prompt affirmative steps to eliminate the racial identities of the Academy and Holy Ghost School with respect to pupils, faculties and new construction.

Plaintiffs further pray that this Court grant such additional relief as the needs of justice may require, including the costs and disbursements of this action.

APPENDIX A: METHODOLOGY

The contract for the present study was awarded on September 29, 1971. Since an oral report was specified for November 15, 1971 (less than two months later), and a final written report for January 1, 1972 (less than four months later), it was necessary to begin work in advance of the contract and to proceed with unremitting haste. Between August 31 and September 17, 1971, the director of the study (Donald A. Erickson), working with George F. Lundy, then a member of the Institute of Human Relations of Loyola University in New Orleans, identified the major phenomena that it seemed essential to investigate and located personnel in various parts of the state who might help conduct the work.

The strategy of relying heavily on Louisiana personnel was adopted for several reasons. Since time constraints were so severe, there was little time to spend developing the contacts necessary to data acquisition; carefully selected Louisiana individuals would already have those contacts. Since such sensetive issues as racial integration would be explored, local people would be more likely than researchers from Chicago and Boston to obtain access to the needed information. And since Louisiana staff members would be intimately acquainted with numerous phenomena under study, they could help avoid errors of interpretation that "outsiders" make so easily.

Eighteen carefully selected Louisiana people were brought to a New Orleans hotel for two days of orientation and training on September 18 and 19, 1971. The objectives and methods of the study were elucidated in detail. Extensive discussions of interviewing techniques were held. Sample interviews were staged and analyzed. A sample case study was distributed and discussed. The strategies and procedures to be followed were delineated. The methodology and central questions of each local case study were planned at length with the individuals chosen to do the work. Expense budgets and deadlines were worked out. The session was under the direction of John D. Donovan, Donald A. Erickson, and Dan C. Lortie.

Fourteen areas of investigation, each to be reported in a separate paper, were delineated at that time. Subsequently, three were dropped and one was added. By the time the work was completed, the following twelve topics had been examined and discussed as "local case studies":

1. An all-black Catholic high school in New Orleans, studied by Barbara Jean Rose with the assistance of Isidore A. Jones.

2. The dynamics of school integration in a racially changing neighborhood, studied by Ann DePass Stuart with the assistance of F. Bradley Landenberger.

*3. A predominantly black Catholic school noted for experimental programs, studied by Mary Landers with the assistance of Meredith Landers and Thelma M. Lyons (see chapter 7).

4. The rationale and methods of the "Workshop Way," delineated by the creator of the program, Sr. Grace Pilon.

5. The "Workshop Way" in operation in three Catholic elementary schools in New Orleans, studied by Sharon Howard with the assistance of Avice Trice.

6. A struggling rural all-black Catholic school, studied by Sr. Aline Boutte.

7. The major events in an extensive court-mandated program of integration-by-busing in a suburban area of New Orleans, studied by Veronica Egan with the assistance of Louise Coon.

*8. A lawsuit against officials of the Diocese of Lafayette instituted by black Catholics in Opelousas, studied by Fr. John J. Walsh (see chapter 8).

*9. Two "alternative" schools in New Orleans, one public and one nonpublic, studied by Bruce S. Cooper (see chapter 5).

*10. A high-prestige college-preparatory independent school in New Orleans, studied by T. L. Patrick (see chapter 6).

11. Two Catholic schools that permitted a large influx of whites at the moment of public school integration, studied by Fr. John J. Walsh with the assistance of Sr. June Fisher and Sr. Loretta McCarthy.

12. Relationships between public and nonpublic schools in Shreveport, studied by Jessie Coleman with the assistance of Wade Robinson.

The four case studies identified by asterisks appear as separate chapters in the final report. Except for the paper by Sr. Grace Pilon, which was used as a source of background information only, the other studies appear in abridged form in various parts of chapter 3.

While the local case studies were being completed under the direction of John D. Donovan of Boston College, Donald A. Erickson and George F. Lundy, with the assistance of John D. Donovan and George F. Madaus, were hard at work putting together the bulk of the state-wide analysis that appears in chapters 1 through 4. Four data-gathering trips were made to Louisiana, and telephone calls and correspondence were utilized extensively.

Voluminous information concerning Catholic schools was made available by the four Catholic diocesan school superintendents in Louisiana. Much additional material was provided by the National Catholic Education Association's Data Bank, which not only granted permission to make extensive use of tables in its two most recent annual reports,[1] but also tabulated special additional data by request. Important collections of documents, historical leads, bibliographical references, etc., pertaining to Catholic education and other topics were provided by Emile Comar of Citizens for Educational Freedom (Louisiana); Father Charles O'Neill of Loyola University in New Orleans; Charles Nolan, a Catholic historian in Tampa, Florida; Sister Eugenia Simoneaux of the Special Committee on Social Justice of the Archdiocese of New Orleans; Sister Anne Elise, Principal of St. Francis Xavier Elementary School in Baton Rouge; Millard F. Everett, editor of the Clarion Herald, official organ of the Archdiocese of New Orleans; Gideon Stanton, Executive Director of the Community Action Council of Tulane University Students; and Mrs. Ernest Lutz, a leader in the struggle to preserve the public schools during the heyday of the segregationist academy movement in Plaquemines (Civil) Parish. An invaluable tape recording of informal comments concerning racial integration made by the late Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel in the summer of 1956 was provided by Bishop Joseph Vath of the Diocese of Birmingham, who was at one time Rummel's personal secretary.

As for the other (nonCatholic) nonpublic schools in the state, very minimal annual enrollment data, up to 1969-70, were obtained from the Louisiana State Department of Education, which gathers systematic information only from the nonpublic schools that apply for state approval. A much more useful source in numerous particulars was the Information Center on School Desegregation of the Public Affairs Research Council (PAR) of

Louisiana in Baton Rouge (through Mrs. Pat Bowers), which had recently completed a study (a copy of which was provided to us) of public school integration in the state, and was engaged in an extensive data-gathering effort with respect to Louisiana's nonpublic schools. So far as the state's many nonCatholic nonpublic schools were concerned, PAR was obtaining most of its data through the "visiting teachers" (essentially attendance officers) and census takers in each of the civil parishes in the state. The task had not been entirely completed when we were forced to terminate our own work, but PAR very courteously made available all data they had acquired up to that point. Since, at our request, PAR assembled in great haste the tabulations from which our own data are largely derived, and since we labored under extreme time pressures in restructuring the figures for our purposes, it is inevitable that minor errors may have crept in, despite the degree of double-checking that was feasible.

While PAR was gathering the above-mentioned data, we engaged in supplementary efforts that subsequently served to eliminate gaps in PAR's tabulations. Data from all Missouri Synod Lutheran elementary and secondary schools were readily secured from the Synod's Southern District offices in New Orleans. Lists of Seventh-Day Adventist, Episcopal, Calvinist, and Evangelical schools were obtained from the world headquarters of the General Conference of Seventh Day Adventists (Washington, D. C.), the National Association of Episcopal Schools (New York), the National Union of Christian Schools (Grand Rapids, Michigan), and the National Association of Christian Schools (Wheaton, Illinois). A list of several independent schools was obtained from the well known Porter Sargent Handbook of Private Schools.[2] When the 29 Louisiana schools on these lists were contacted individually with a request for the following minimal information, only 10 (a disappointing 34.5 per cent) responded:

> Please provide whatever information you have available, even if incomplete. When firm figures are not available, estimates will be appreciated (please identify by placing E beside or under the figure).
>
> Name of School ______________________________
>
> Mailing Address ______________________________
>
> Phone __________ Name of principal or headmaster __________

(1) Grades Offered ____ (2) Date Founded ______

(3) Religious Affiliation (if any) ____________

(4) Percentage of Operating Costs Derived from Tuition ________

(5) Other Major Sources of Operating Funds ______

(6) Average Fees (Tuition and other, for first child from family in Grade 1, 5, 8, or 11 (indicate which)
1964-65 ____ 1965-66 ____ 1966-67 ____ 1967-68 ____
1968-69 ____ 1969-70 ____ 1970-71 ____ 1971-72 ____

Enrollment	1964 -65	1965 -66	1966 -67	1967 -68	1968 -69	1969 -70	1970 -71	1971 -72
White								
Black								
Total								

(7) What is your basic admissions policy? (If you prefer, simply enclose whatever published statements you have available in this regard.)

(8) What is your policy on racial integration?

(9) Do you expect your enrollment to increase, decrease, or hold steady over the next 5 years or so?

(10) What would you say is your most serious problem as you face the future?

(11) What major innovations or experiments (if any) have been tried in your school during the past two years or so?

(Please feel free to send us any further information on these or other topics that you would like us to examine.)

Ironically, in this study of nonpublic schools, public schoolmen were twice as cooperative. We contacted the 66 public school superintendents in Louisiana, all but two of them in charge of systems coterminous with civil parishes, asking the following questions:

1. So far as you know, how many nonpublic schools in your civil parish (or city school district) seem to have come into being primarily in reaction to the desegregation of public schools?

2. During what school year have you noticed the most transfers of children into these schools?

3. What would you estimate as the approximate total student enrollment (elementary and secondary) in nonpublic schools of this anti-integration type in your school district at the present time?

4. Which of the following answers comes closest, in your estimation, to explaining why most parents transfer their children to these schools:
   ___ (a) racial prejudice
   ___ (b) confusion regarding what desegregation will do to academic quality and discipline in public schools
   ___ mostly (a) but partly (b)
   ___ mostly (b) but partly (a)
   ___ other (please explain)

5. As compared with 1970-71, what has happened this year (1971-72) to enrollments in these schools? Have they

   ___ increased markedly
   ___ increased somewhat
   ___ held steady, or approximately so
   ___ decreased slightly
   ___ decreased markedly

6. Assuming that desegregation cannot be reversed, what should the federal courts, administration, and/or legislative arm do to encourage Louisiana citizens to keep their children in the public schools?

Of this group, 45 (68.2 per cent) responded without any follow-up action on our part, though not all respondents replied to all questions.

Court records, newspaper accounts, relevant published literature, and many other documents were consulted. The members of our research teams, many of them intimately acquainted with phenomena under study in Louisiana, provided much useful information. Some research personnel made extensive classroom visitations. Some solicited written statements from key informants.

Finally, personnel attached to the study conducted more than 180 hours of interviews with at least 139 key respondents in Greater New Orleans; over 8½ hours of interviews with 7 key informants in Baton Rouge; over 55 hours with 50 key informants in the general area of Lafayette; over 69 hours with 48 key informants in Lake Charles and the immediate vicinity; over 32 hours with 34 key informants in Shreveport; 2½ hours with 2 key informants in Alexandria; 3½ hours with 4 key informants in Chicago; and brief telephone interviews with 3 key informants elsewhere; for a total of at least 350 hours of interviewing and at least 287 key informants.

FOOTNOTES

[1] National Catholic Educational Association, A Statistical Report on Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools for the Years 1967-68 to 1969-70 (Washington, D. C.: the Association, 1970), and the association's A Report on U. S. Catholic Schools, 1970-71 (Washington, D. C.: the Association, 1971).

[2] Porter Sargent, The Handbook of Private Schools (51st ed.; Boston: the author, 1971).

APPENDIX B

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE CONTROVERSY OVER PARTICIPATION IN TITLE I, ESEA, PROGRAMS IN NEW ORLEANS CATHOLIC SCHOOLS: AUTUMN, 1971

August 3, 1971

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Dr. Harold G. Denning
Administrator of Federally
Assisted Programs
State Department of Education
Baton Rouge, La. 70804

Dear Doctor Denning:

On July 23, 1971, the New Orleans Public Schools office submitted to your office its proposed 1971-72 compensatory education project for funding under Title 1 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. On July 27, 1971, the Archdiocesan Office of Education received for the first time, at the request of Mr. Rice, a copy of the complete project.

Members of our staff are in the process of reviewing carefully the proposal and already have found several inconsistencies and problem areas relative to participation by nonpublic school children. This proposed participation does not reflect properly our consultation with Orleans parish school officials and the needs of nonpublic school children. As you know, this report is 118 pages in length and requests funding in the amount of $4,151,217. I would therefore request that your office withhold approval of this project until these difficulties have been resolved. I would also appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience as to the present status of the review of the Orleans Parish School Board project request.

I wish to express, Dr. Denning, the appreciation of the Archdiocesan Office of Education staff for the cooperation which we have received from members of your staff. My best wishes to you for continued success in your position as Administrator of Federally Assisted Programs.

Sincerely,

Rev. Louis F. Generes
Archdiocesan Superintendent
of Schools

LFG:fg

cc: Mr. Charles Jerreau
Dr. Alton W. Cowan
Mr. James E. Dean, Jr.
Mr. Robert E. Wall
Mr. Joe M. Carmichael
Mr. John Rice

August 4, 1971

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Robert E. Wall, Director of School-Community Relations
From: James E. Dean, Jr., Acting Superintendent
Subject: Problem Involving Compensatory Education Project

You have received copy of a letter to Dr. Denning from Reverend Louis F. Generes, Archdiocesan Superintendent of Schools. Please institute whatever action is necessary to work out the problems outlined by Father Generes. If you wish me to attend any meetings with you in regard to this matter, I will arrange to do so.

James E. Dean, Jr.
Acting Superintendent
/New Orleans Public Schools/

JED,jr:rr

cc: Mr. Joe M. Carmichael
Dr. Harold G. Denning
Reverend Louis F. Generes

NEW ORLEANS PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Alton W. Cowan, Superintendent

August 4, 1971

Rev. Louis F. Generes
Archdiocesan Superintendent of Schools
Archdiocese of New Orleans
7887 Walmsley Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Dear Father Generes:

Although I am not scheduled to be back from vacation until Monday, August 9, I stopped by the office for a few minutes this morning and was surprised and distressed to find your letter of August 3 addressed to Dr. Harold Denning. I cannot imagine what concerns you have about our Title I application, and I think that we should schedule a meeting the early part of next week. I would suggest a meeting earlier than this, but I am leaving for a two-day trip to Washington this afternoon. I will call John Rice Monday morning to set up a convenient time.

I regret that you have once again taken the position of opposing a New Orleans application for federal educational funds. It is particularly bewildering in view of the fact that I met with your key staff personnel a couple of days before the application was completed. After this meeting I personally reviewed the statistical data and narrative, and strengthened numerous areas to assure greater participation by non-public schools.

We intend to strictly adhere to the federal and state guidelines as they relate to services for non-public school children, and are perfectly willing to immediately adjust our application should we have erred in any way.

I cannot close without telling you that I believe your insinuation in the first paragraph of your letter, about your office's copy of the application, is unwarranted as it implies an attempt on our part to withhold certain information from you. The facts of the matter are that your staff have been participants in the planning process from the very beginning of this project, and a rough draft was in your possession weeks before July 23. Changes that were being contemplated to this draft were discussed with your office several days before the submission of the final document.

August 4, 1971

Rev. Louis F. Generes - Page #2

The application was completed at 1:30 p.m. on Friday, July 23, and was hand-delivered to Baton Rouge in order that it might be "stamped in" with a July 23 date. That night, while I was working to clear my desk before leaving for vacation, I dictated a memorandum to Mrs. Paula Platt asking that a copy of the final application be mailed to you on Monday (the next working day). Whether or not Mr. Rice telephoned for a copy before Mrs. Platt could put one in the mail is, I presume, a possibility.

You may be interested to know that only on August 2 did we distribute copies to our staff. My copy arrived at my desk on August 3.

Sincerely,

Robert E. Wall, Director
School-Community Relations

REW/kk

cc: Dr. Harold G. Denning
Mr. Charles Jarreau
Mr. James E. Dean, Jr.
Mr. Joe M. Carmichael
Mr. John Rice

P.S. - In order for the meeting that I propose for next week to be most fruitful may I suggest that you drop me a note or have someone telephone my office indicating the areas of the application that should be rechecked. In this way I can review our statistics and approach before getting together with you.

R. E. W.

ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS
7887 Walmsley Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

August 6, 1971

Office of Education

Mr. Robert E. Wall, Director
School-Community Relations
New Orleans Public Schools
703 Carondelet Street
New Orleans, La. 70130

Dear Mr. Wall:

I also regret the fact that the Archdiocesan Office of Education must "once again take the position of opposing a New Orleans application for federal educational funds." The reason for my letter of August 3, 1971, to Dr. Denning is quite simple and basic: the project as submitted goes counter to the consultation which did take place and includes areas in which there was no consultation.

Our office staff is studying the 118 pages of this project. In response, though, to your request of August 4 I have indicated below some of the areas which require clarification:

1. An itemized breakdown of the budget in each major area listed on pages 11 and 16-18 and an explanation of the varying figures given for each instructional, supportive services and administrative category.

2. An explanation of the different figures given by our office in Exhibit D (page 108) and by your office in Exhibit J (pages 117-118) for the "number of eligible participants" in our Title I target schools. The projected participation of only 280 nonpublic school students in the reading and mathematics programs is especially disturbing in the light of the expected total participation of 12,000 students announced at the Title I Advisory Committee meeting on July 13, 1971. From the very beginning of our discussion of this proposal it was projected that approximately 2500 nonpublic school students would share in the benefits of these two top priority remedial programs.

3. In the light of additional expenditures projected this year for instructional and other equipment, a breakdown of the equipment items purchased with federal funds in previous years and of the planned utilization of this equipment in Title I programs in 1971-72.

4. An explanation of the expenditures requested for the "School Age Expectant Mothers (Margaret Haughery)" and "School without Walls (Gateway)" proposals. In particular what local and state educational funds are being used for the education of the projected 550 part-time students at Margaret Haughery and the 200 students at Gateway? The budgets for these two programs seem to indicate a per pupil cost from federal funding alone greater than that expended by the Orleans Parish School Board for its regular students.

5. More detailed information concerning the projected expenditures of close to a half million dollars for supportive services and the method of participation of nonpublic school students in these eight areas. To date the only supportive services clearly identified in previous consultation with our office was the existing child study center.

6. The reasons for the exclusion of educationally handicapped children attending parochial schools from participation in the "Special Activities for the Handicapped" section of this proposal.

Mr. Rice will be in the Office of Education on Monday afternoon to set up with you a convenient time for our meeting with Mr. Dean, yourself and members of your staff who could assist us in working out these difficulties.

Sincerely,

Rev. Louis F. Generes
Archdiocesan Superintendent
of Schools

LFG:fg

cc: Dr. Harold G. Denning
Mr. Charles Jarreau
Mr. James E. Dean, Jr.
Mr. Joe M. Carmichael
Mr. John Rice

STATE OF LOUISIANA
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

WILLIAM J. DODD
STATE SUPERINTENDENT
BATON ROUGE 70804

August 9, 1971

Reverend Louis F. Generes
Archdiocesan Superintendent of Schools
Archdiocese of New Orleans
7887 Walmsley Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Dear Reverend Generes:

I am in receipt of your letter of August 3, 1971 concerning the ESEA Title 1 Program in Orleans Parish. I have also received a copy of your letter to Mr. Robert Wall indicating the areas in the Title 1 project which you felt needed clarification.

Since receipt of your initial letter, I have received copies of letters from Mr. Wall and Acting Superintendent Dean indicating that a meeting will be set up between the Parish School System and the Archdiocesan Superintendent of Schools. Since these negotiations are currently underway, I feel that any action on my part would be premature. Should the Department be requested to participate in these negotiations in areas where you fail to reach agreement, we would be most willing to do whatever is necessary.

The Title 1 Project for Orleans Parish is being processed at this time and any withholding of approval will not be necessary in as much as this procedure requires considerable time to complete. I will contact you and Acting Superintendent Dean during the latter part of this week in order to determine the progress of the deliberation.

Sincerely yours,

Harold G. Denning
State Administrator
Federally Assisted Programs

HGD:ph

cc: Mr. James E. Dean, Jr.

NEW ORLEANS PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Alton W. Cowan, Superintendent

August 13, 1971

Rev. Louis F. Generes
Archdiocesan Superintendent of Schools
Archdiocese of New Orleans
7887 Walmsley Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Dear Father Generes:

In reviewing your letter of August 6 I get the impression that your primary concern and difference of opinion with our office relates to the extent of the reading and mathematical instructional services extended to non-public school children, and, more specifically, to the actual number of non-public school children to be served.

My staff has gathered together other data that provides you with the information you requested about other sections of the Title I proposal, but I would like to address this initial reply primarily to numbers to be involved in the reading and math programs and also the supportive services area that has become more complex even since our exchange of correspondence last week. The enclosed very rough chart, I hope, will be helpful to you in understanding and interpreting to others the approach that was used to arrive at numbers of eligible students and those who would receive services.

Let me tackle first the question you raised of these figures reflecting a difference in ones that had been discussed at a Title I Advisory Committee meeting. You indicate that during this meeting your representatives were led to believe that perhaps as many as 2500 non-public school students would be active participants in the reading and math programs. In reviewing the final application I determined that the planning staff erred in their approach and the designation of children to be served had to be researched again. This affected public school children as well as non-public school children.

It appears to me that our approach is simpler and cleaner this year than it has ever been before. We are attempting to serve eligible elementary school children with severe reading and/or math deficiencies wherever they might attend school, their residence and achievement level being the only two criteria applied. Because public schools appear to have more specific test data than is available in the non-public schools we are able to be more definite about the actual number of children functioning one or two years below grade level. We have assumed for the purpose of this application that children attending non-public schools in the same general area as our target schools would test out in a similar manner, and have used identical projections for your youngsters. Should with additional testing, this prove not to be the case, and you would have additional eligible students, we would need to either reduce the public school number of children to be served or expand the programs.

In the light of your letter of August 6 I have examined our procedure again and do not find any instances where we have not applied the same, identical rule to both groups of students. The only factor that I can envision that might alter the number of non-public school children to be served, slightly, (other than that resulting from specific testing results) would be as a result of a reference in the guidelines that might make non-public school children eligible even though they do not live within the specific public school district boundaries. This has normally been, as you know, the first statement everyone makes to us and it applies without exception to public school children. Probably because of the realization that frequently public and non-public school attendance boundaries are not identical the phrase, "...or in a geographical area reasonably coterminous with the project area," is now found in the official guidelines. Attempts to define what is "reasonably coterminous" have not been very fruitful, but I would not imagine that applying the implications of this phrase to our project would increase, percentage-wise, the number of children to participate by more than 10% or 20%. I do believe, however, that representatives of our staffs should sit down over attendance districts' maps and review this item.

Rather than discuss the exact procedure used any further in narrative form, let me suggest that the attached chart be reviewed, as I think it will answer almost any questions that you might have about the procedure.

With regard to the supportive services, it has been our assumption that we would be able to serve 1018 of the non-public school children who are living in eligible attendance districts. In the last few days Louisiana State Department of Education representatives have reemphasized to us that supportive services would need to be truly "supportive," and could only be extended to the children who would be actually receiving the reading and math instruction, about 280 students in the non-public schools,

August 13, 1971

and could not exist because they were valuable services on their own. As an example, health services, as needed as they might be, could only be approved if they were necessary as a compliment to the reading or math programs. Implications of this decision are quite significant and our application is being reviewed internally with reduction of staff becoming a real possibility.

I will be replying more specifically to your other requests for information, most of which, I believe, stem from the highly complicated application forms required by the federal government. Most of the information you seek is actually in the application, but, admittedly, difficult to extract. One item that is available now, and which I am also attaching, is an itemized breakdown of budgets by each major area. You should note that this was prepared prior to the State requesting extensive additional information from us which may well alter these figures.

In view of the fact that the State Department has indicated to us that it regards the preparation of our application and the matters discussed above to be a local problem I am not sending a copy of this correspondence to Dr. Denning and Mr. Charles Jarreau. I have no objection, however, should you feel that you want to duplicate my letter and send it to them, even though I believe your bypassing of the New Orleans public schools' Superintendent by channeling your complaints directly to others has damaged both of our systems' state and federal relations.

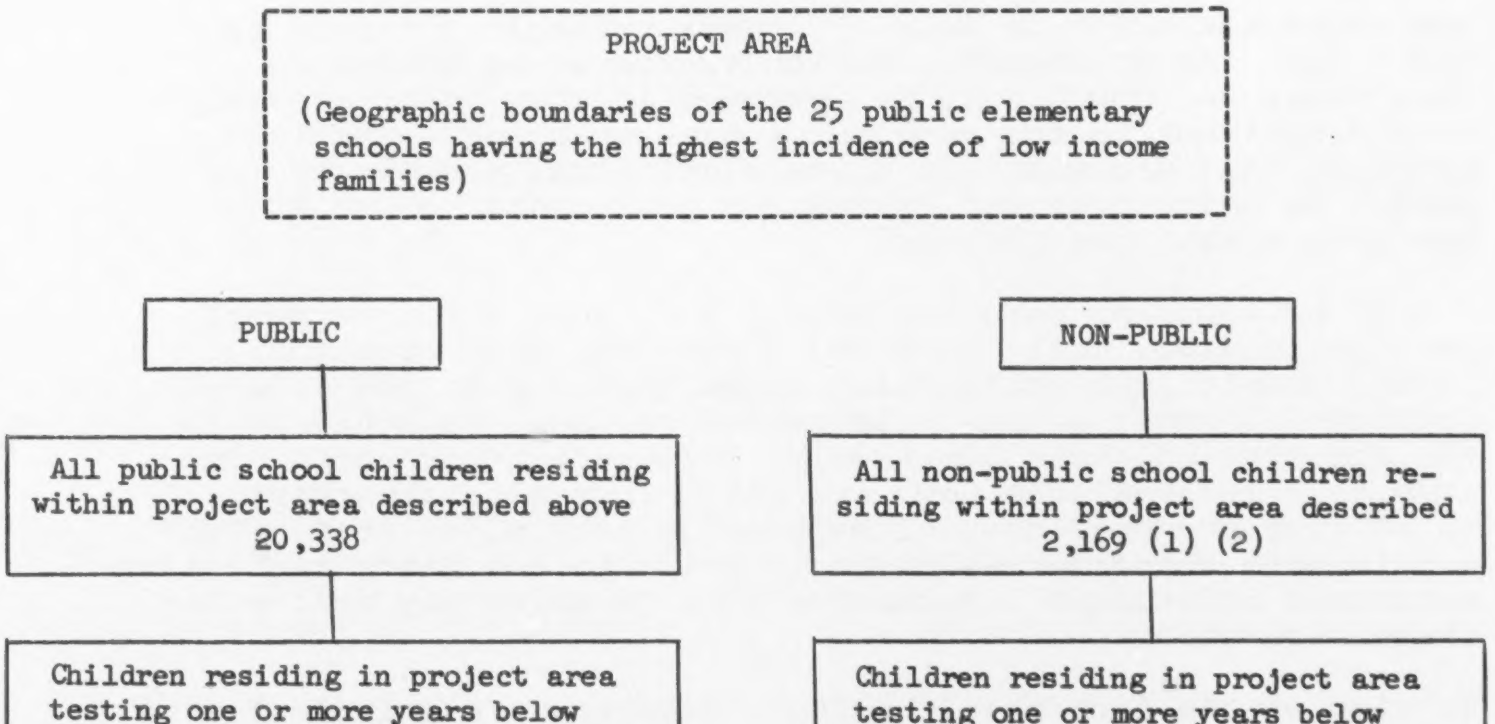
Sincerely,

Robert E. Wall, Director
School-Community Relations

REW/kk
atts.

cc: Mr. James E. Dean, Jr.
Mr. John C. Rice
Mr. Joe M. Carmichael

Method of determining number of eligible public and non-public school children to participate in New Orleans' ESEA Title I reading and math project components



PROJECT AREA

(Geographic boundaries of the 25 public elementary schools having the highest incidence of low income families)

PUBLIC

All public school children residing within project area described above
20,338

Children residing in project area testing one or more years below grade level in either math or reading
9,649
(47% of all eligible students)

NON-PUBLIC

All non-public school children residing within project area described
2,169 (1) (2)

Children residing in project area testing one or more years below grade level in either math or reading
1,018 (2) (3)
(47% of all eligible students)

Instructional Program Design

Actual number of eligible children functioning below grade level who will be served by the math and reading programs at 25 schools
2,765 - Math
2,610 - Reading
(Eligible and below grade level students: Math; 29%; Reading, 27%)

Actual number of eligible children functioning below grade level who will be served by the math and reading programs at 8 schools
280 - Math (2)
280 - Reading (2)
(Eligible and below grade level students; Math, 28%; Reading 28%)

(1) Residence figures supplied by Archdiocesan School Board.
(2) Figures could be revised slighly upward when applying provisions of guidelines relative to "geographical area reasonably coterminous with the project area."
(3) Figure based on assumption that examination of non-public school testing will indicate similar percentage of children functioning below grade level.

ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS

September 2, 1971

Mr. Sidney P. Marland, Jr.
Commissioner
Office of Education
Department of Health, Education,
and Welfare
Washington, D. C. 20201

Dear Mr. Marland:

On July 23, 1971, the Orleans Parish School Board submitted to the Louisiana State Department of Education a compensatory education proposal requesting federal funding under Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, in the amount of $4,225,151. On August 3, 1971, I sent a letter to Dr. Harold G. Denning, Administrator of Federally Assisted Programs, State Department of Education, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, requesting a complete review of this proposal because it "does not reflect properly our consultation with Orleans parish school officials and the Needs of nonpublic school children." We also asked that approval of this project be withheld until these difficulties were resolved.

Upon receipt of a letter dated August 4, 1971, from Mr. Robert E. Wall, Director, School-Community Relations, New Orleans Public Schools, I replied on August 6 indicating six areas of the proposal which require clarification from the Orleans Public School Office. Doctor Denning on August 9, 1971, responded to my letter of August 3 and also acknowledged receipt of a copy of my correspondence of August 6 with Mr. Wall. At the request of Doctor Denning, members of our staff met with personnel from the Orleans Public School Office. These meetings left some of the basic issues of contention still unresolved. We then met (August 31, 1971) in the State Department of Education Building in Baton Rouge with Doctor Denning, members of his staff, and personnel from the Orleans Public School Office.

We are definitely not in agreement with the interpretation of the guidelines by the Administrator of Federally Assisted Programs in Baton Rouge. Our legal counsel, both locally and in our national office, have advised us to write directly to your office to request the withholding of funds for the New Orleans Public Schools 1971-72 Compensatory Education Project until members of your staff can provide an official interpretation of the guidelines relative to these proposals.

I am forwarding copies of this correspondence to our congressional representatives because of their strong concern for providing equal educational opportunity for the children of our community.

Your prompt attention to this matter will be appreciated in order that the children in the nonpublic schools of Orleans Parish might be able to participate in these programs equitably at the very beginning of the school year. The Archdiocesan Office of Education staff will prepare upon request any further information that you might need to review this matter and will be available to meet with representatives of your office.

I can be reached at the Office of Education from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., telephone (504) 861-9524, or in the evenings and on weekends at my residence, telephone (504) 887-7821.

Sincerely,

Rev. Louis F. Generes
Archdiocesan Superintendent
of Schools

LFG:fg

cc: Senator Allen Ellender
Senator Russell Long
Congressman F. Edward Hebert
Congressman Hale Boggs
Congressman Patrick Caffery
Mr. Richard L. Fairley
Mr. John F. Staehle
Mr. Joe Vopelak
Dr. Edward R. D'Alessio
Mr. Frank Monahan

STATE OF LOUISIANA
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

WILLIAM J. DODD
STATE SUPERINTENDENT
BATON ROUGE 79804

September 3, 1971

Reverend Louis F. Generes
Archdiocesan Superintendent of Schools
Archdiocese of New Orleans
7887 Walmsley Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Dear Father Generes:

As indicated at the meeting Tuesday concerning Title I, a call was placed on September 1, 1971, to Dr. John F. Staehle, Assistant Director for Policy and Procedures, as a follow-up on the three hour discussion held between respresentatives of the Orleans Parish public and parochial schools at the State Department of Education on August 31. The following three major areas were discussed at some length with Dr. Staehle: (1) the school for unwed expectant mothers; (2) the school without walls; and (3) the special education program.

The first question asked of Dr. Staehle was whether or not it would be legal for Orleans Parish to operate a school for unwed expectant mothers restricted to eligible Title I children. His response to the question was that this was a legal activity providing there was justification for such a project in their assessment of needs. He saw no conflict with the regulations by this activity as long as it was not duplicating a similar service operated by the system for girls in this condition who were attending non-eligible schools.

The second question asked pertained to the school without walls. The question asked was "can Title I totally support a school of an entirely different nature which is designed to keep in school boys and girls who are potential dropouts or who were in actuality dropouts from the regular schools?" The nature of this school was fully discussed and it was also explained to Dr. Staehle that parochial school children from eligible attendance areas could attend this school under the same conditions as public school children.

His reply was that they had just ruled on a situation very similar to this and found no conflict with the regulations or intent of the program in this project. I explained to him that we felt that this was a gray area but his reply was that it was fully justifiable providing the need was expressed and substantiated.

The third question asked concerned the special education programs conducted with Title I funds. All aspects of this phase of their program were discussed. Dr. Staehle replied that there was no question that they could have a special education activity providing their assessment of needs indicated this was one of the services most needed in the system. I raised the question as to whether or not having a special education class in an eligible school that was not one of the top 25 schools selected for their regular Title I program would make the parochial school or schools serving the same area eligible for any activities other than special education. The reply to this was that if the parochial school children were attending public schools in that area they would be eligible only for special education services or the services provided in that particular school, therefore, these would be the only services or activities that the parochial schools would be eligible to receive in that area.

I discussed with Dr. Staehle your feeling that some of these activities other than the regular academic program conducted in the 25 participating schools should be restricted in order that the Parish might serve a larger number of eligible children and consequently make a larger number of parochial school children eligible. His reply was he felt there was no basis for compelling the Parish to act in this manner providing their assessment of needs supported their decisions. I mentioned that you wanted activities outside these 25 schools restricted in order to make more parochial children eligible for participation and he felt there was no compulsion on the Parish to do so since they had chosen the 25 schools in strictly a legitimate manner and there was no attempt to gerrymander the eligible districts for the purpose of placing limitations on the parochial schools.

Since these questions have been clarified and the project by the Orleans Parish Public School System is in our opinion within the guidelines we are at this time giving tentative approval for this project effective on the opening date of school.

It is unfortunate that the difference between the two systems in Orleans Parish could not have been resolved at an early date, however, I do want to point out that personnel in the Federal Programs section had previously offered their services to arbitrate these differences and it was not brought to us until August 31.

Should you appeal to the U. S. Office of Education, which you are certainly entitled to do, I would be most happy to meet with you and/or representatives of the Orleans Parish School System and/or representatives of the U. S. Office of Education at any time and any place to discuss the Title I project. Please understand that I recognize your concern and will operate within the juridsiction of this office to satisfy the needs of both systems.

If I may be of service to you, please do not hesitate to call.

Sincerely yours,

Harold G. Denning
State Adminstrator
Federally Assisted Programs

HGD:cb

cc: Mr. Mack Avants
Mr. James E. Dean, Jr.
Dr. John F. Staehle

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

OFFICE OF EDUCATION

Washington, D.C. 20202

September 13, 1971

Reverend Louis F. Generes
Archdiocesan Superintendent of Schools
Archdiocese of New Orleans
New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Dear Father Generes:

Your recent telegram and letter to Commissioner Marland have been referred to me for reply. A copy of the letter sent to you by Dr. Harold Denning, State Administrator of Federally Assisted Programs in Baton Rouge, has also been received by this office.

In connection with the problems you have raised, Dr. Denning called Dr. John Staehle who responded to the questions posed by him. We believe those responses were adequately transcribed by Dr. Denning in his letter to you, dated September 3, a copy of which was sent to us.

It is our hope that problems which may arise regarding participation of private school children in Title I programs in New Orleans will continue to be resolved in a satisfactory manner.

Sincerely yours,

Gene C. Fusco
Chief, Southwestern Branch
Division of Compensatory
Education

September 15, 1971

AIR MAIL

Dr. Gene C. Fusco
Chief, Southwestern Branch
Division of Compensatory Education
Office of Education
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D. C. 20202

Dear Doctor Fusco:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of September 13, 1971, stating that, as a result of a telephone conversation from Dr. Denning to Dr. John Staehle, approval has been given to the 1971-72 Orleans Parish Title I Compensatory Education Proposal by your office. Your letter also expresses hope that problems which arise regarding participation of our school children in Orleans Parish Title I programs "will continue to be resolved in a satisfactory manner."

I object to the inference that this matter has been satisfactorily resolved and to your apparent dismissal of the objections of the Archdiocesan Office of Education to the proposal's approval. I therefore again strongly request Dr. Marland to take the necessary steps to halt the funding of this $4,225,000 project until an on site investigation can be made by representatives from the U. S. Office of Education.

Sincerely,

Rev. Louis F. Generes
Archdiocesan Superintendent
of Schools

LFG:fg

cc: Senator Allen Ellender
Senator Russell Long
Congressman F. Edward Hebert
Congressman Hale Boggs
Congressman Patrick Caffery
Archbishop Philip M. Hannan
Dr. Sidney P. Marland, Jr.
Dr. Harry Gardner
Mr. Richard L. Fairley
Dr. John F. Staehle
Dr. Edward R. D'Alessio
Dr. Frank Monahan
Mr. Joe Vopelak

bc: Mr. Emile Comar
Mr. John Rice

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